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CRONICLES OF SCOTLAND.

THE

Chronicles of Scotland,

BY

ROBERT LINDSAY OF PITSCOTTIE.

PUBLISHED

FROM SEVERAL OLD MANUSCRIPTS.

VOLUME FIRST.

EDINBURGH:

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PREFACE.

SEVERAL manuscripts have been employed in preparing these Volumes, all of unequal date, and exhibiting considerable discrepancies in style and matter. Two, to judge from external circumstances, belong nearly to the same period, the earlier part of the seventeenth century ; a third, which is divided into chapters, and terminates with the year 1598, is somewhat more recent ; and a fourth, intimately corresponding with it, is scarce above a century old. Probably manuscripts of greater antiquity may still be extant, as a fragment has occurred, which, according to the specimen annexed, is not posterior to the age of Mary.

The two older manuscripts, though defective in some incidents found in the

rest, are more copious on the whole ; they narrowly coincide in substance, and are besides distinguished by that simplicity, which, in coëval writings, marks an approach to originality. There is no interruption of the narrative denoting that passages are omitted ; the sense is complete, and the mode of their substitution sometimes affords well-grounded presumption of interpolation. Both these manuscripts contain the introductory description, which is not seen in the others ; but the poetical address, prefixed to the first printed edition, appears only in a single instance.

Many expressions, hitherto of doubtful import, are here explained, merely by restoring the words of the original ; some obscurities yet remaining, must be ascribed to incorrect transcription, and our imperfect knowledge of Scottish antiquities.

Preceding editions bear a title evidently of more modern structure. "A History of Scotland, from 1436 to 1565, by Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, with a continuation by another hand till August 1604." In one old manuscript, the conti-

nunity of the text is uninterrupted, and the general title of all is invariably as now retained.

We can hardly affirm that it is satisfactorily established who was the real author of the Chronicles. The older manuscripts are silent on this head ; nor, throughout the contents of any, is there the most remote allusion to his name or quality. Nevertheless, in the following prefatory notice to two later transcripts, Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie has claimed the work. As we certainly owe it to the successive labours of different individuals, who flourished at distant intervals ; perhaps it is not inconsistent to admit, that he may have availed himself of the materials collected by his predecessors.

JOHN GRAHAM DALYELL.

15th December 1813.

NOTICE RESPECTING THE AUTHOR OF THE
CHRONICLES.

HEEER begineth the Historie and Cronicles off Scotland, which was left unwritten be the last translators, to witt, Mr Hector Boes and Mr John Ballantyn, who ended ther chronicle att the slaughter of king James the First, which was from our redemption ane thousand four hundreth and xxxvi yeares, the twenty ane day of Februar. Therefore wee follow hence-farth in order, beginning at king James the Second, so breifly succeiding all the kingis, queens, governours, and regents, that hath been since the said day forsaide, wnto this day and dait heirefter following ; and furthermore, have sought, gathered, and collected, all the notable acts done be these foresaid princes in thair tymes, and all troubles and enormities of conspiratioun, fallen in lyk maner in ther dayes, is comprehended in this volume ; and speciallie the maner of the reformatioun of the religioun and what was done therin, since the

viii NOTICE RESPECTING THE AUTHOR.

fyftie and eight yeare, wntill the threescore and fyfteen yeare, sought, gathered, written, and collected by me, Robert Lindsay of Pit-scottie, instructed and learned, and laityly informed be thir authors, as after followes: to witt, Patrick, Lord Lindsay of the Byres; Sir William Scott of Balwirrie, knight; Sir Andro Wood of Largo, knight; Mr John Major, doctor of theologie, who wrott his cronicle heir-wpon; and also, Sir Dauid Lindsay of the Mount, knight, *alias* lyon king of armes; with Andrew Wood of Largo, principall and familiar servant to king James the Fift; Andro Fernie of that ilk, ane nobleman of recent memory; Sir William Bruce of Earleshall, knight, who hath written very justly all the deeds since Floudoun Feild.

HEARE BEGINES ANE BREIFE DISCRPTIONE OF
INGLAND, SCOTLAND, WAILLIS AND CORNE-
WAILL.

BRIITTANE or Brutane, which by tuo names is called England and Scotland, is an illand in ocean sea, situat richt over against France; one pairt of which the Inglismen doe inhabite, and the other pairt Scottis: the third pairt Welschmen, and the fourth pairt Cornischmen. All they, aither in language, conditione, or lawis, doe differ amongst thamselffis.

England, so called of Inglischmen, which did win the same, is the greatest pairt, and is divydit in fourtie countries, which we call schyres, whairof ten, that is to say, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Southampton, Barkschyre, Wiltschyre, Dorsetschyre, Sommersaittschyre, Dovenschyre, and Cornewaill, doe contane the first pairt of that illand: which pairt boundeth toward the south, and standeth

betweine the Theamis and the sea. From thence to the river of Trent, which passeth throw the midst of England, be saxteine schyres, quhairof the first six standeth eastward, ar Essex, Midlsex, Harfotschyre, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridgeschyre. The other ten that standeth more in the midle of the countrie ar these, Bedfoord, Huntingdoun, Buckingham, Oxfoord, Northamptoun, Rutland, Leichester, Nottinghame, Warwick, and Lincolne. Efter these thair be six that border wastward vpoun Waillis; as Glocester, Herfoord, Worcester, Schorpschyre, Staffoord, Chester, and Monmouth. About the midle of the regione ly Darbieschyre, Yorkschyre, Lancaster, and Cumberland. On the left hand, toward the wast, is Wastmorland; against the same is the bischoprick of Durhame, and Northumberland, which boundeth vpoun the north in the merchis of Scotland.

These schyres be divydit into tuentie tuo bischoprickis, which by a Greek word be called diosces. Canterburie hath Kent; Rochester hath pairt of Kent; Londoun hath Essex, Middlesex, and pairt of Hareford; Chester hath Sussex, Winchester, North Hampschyre, and the Ile of Wight; Cornwaill hath Waillis and Somerssettschyre; Worcester hath Worcester, and pairt of Warwickschyre;

Glocester hath Glocester; Harefoord hath pairt of Schropschyre, and Harefoordschyre; Coventrie and Leichfield hath Staffordschyre; Derbieschyre hath pairt of Warwickschyre, and pairt of Schorpschyre: Lincolne, which is the greatest, lying betuixt the Theames and Humber, hath Lincolne, Leycester, Huntingtoun, Bedfoord, Buckingame, and the residue of Harefoord; Harefoord hath Elie, Cambridgeschyre, and the Ile of Elie; Norwich hath Suffolk and Norfolk, and pairt of Cambridgeschyre; Oxfoord hath Oxfoordschyre; Petterborrow hath Northamtonschyre, and Rutland; Bristow hath Dorsetschyre, and this is the province of the Archbishoprick of Canterburie, which is the primatt of all Ingland, with Waillis. The Archbishoprick of York hath Yorkschyre, Notinghame, and ane peice of Lancaschyre; the bishoprick of Durham hath the bishoprick commonlie called Northumberland; Chester hath Chester, and most pairt of Lancaschyre; Richmond hath pairt of Flintschyre, and Denbighschyre; Carelel containeth Westmurland and Cumberland; and this is the other province of the archbishoprick of York, which is ane other province of Ingland, and was ane long tyme also primate of all Scotland. Bot these dioces tak thair names of the cities quhair these

seattes be placed, the chiefe quhairof be London, quhair in the beginning was the archbishopis seatt, bot afterward transported to Canterburie, ane citie in Kent, placed in ane soyle amiable and pleasant.

London standeth on the north syd of Theames. That most excellent and goodlie river hath first the name of Ise, and begineth in Cotleswold in Glocesterschyre, about ane myle from Titberrie, and als much from the hie way called Fesse, and it taketh first the name of Theamis near to Dorchester bridge, quhair the river Theames and the forsaid Ys meitt, and so with ane marvellous quyet cours passeth by London, and then breaketh wnto the French ocean, be mony tydis, which twyse in twentie four houres space doe ebb and flow more nor thriescoir mylles; to the great comoditie of travelleris, by the which all kindis of merchandice be easilie conveyed to London, the principall store and steple for all commodities, etc. within that realme.

Vpoun the same river is placed ane stone bridge, ane work verie rare and marvellous, which bridge hath, rekonig the draw-bridge, twentie arches, maid of foursquair stone; of height thriescoir futes, and of breadth threttie futes, distant on from another twentie futes, compact and joyned to idder with wol-

tis and sellaris. Vpoun both sydis be housis built, that it seames rather ane continewall streit than ane bridge.

The ocean sea doeth bound Ingland, the first pairt of Brittain, east and south Waillis, and Cornwall wast. The rivar of Tweid di- vydeth Ingland and Scotland, north; the length of the illand at Portesmouth, in the south pairt, and ending at the river Tweid in the north, containeth thrie hunder and twentie myllis.

This realme, abone otheris, is most fruitfull. Not far beyond it is full of montaines, and although to the beholderis of that countrie, that far of it may seeme plaine, yitt it is full of maine hillis, and these for the most pairt wode of tries; the walleyis quhair of be werie delectable, inhabited for the most pairt with noblmen, quho according to the ancient and old maner, desir not to dwell into cities, bot nigh vnto walleyis and riveris, in several vil- lages, for awayding of vehement windis, be- caus that iland naturallie is stormie.

Humbre hath his beginning a little on this syd of York, and by and by runneth south- ward, and then holdeth his course eastward, and so into the maine sea, greatlie increased by the rivar of Dun and Trent, etc. Trent beginneth a litle from Stoffoord, running

throw Darbischyre and Leichesterschyre, passing by Leichfield and Nottinghame on the richt hand, and Dun on the left ; so that both the rivaris doe mak on iland, which is called Ansholme, and than joyneth togidder. In this syd Kingstoun vpoun Hull, ane goodlie merchant toun, they fall into Humbre ; by which river they may arrive out of France, Germanie, and Denmark. Ingland is fruitfull of beastis, and aboundeth with cattle, quhairby the inhabitantis be rather for the most pairt grasieris then plewmen, becaus they give thamselffis more to feiding than to tillage, so that almost the thrid pairt of the countrie is employed to catle, dear, rid and fallow, goattis quhairof thair be store in the north pairts, and countries of conies everie quhair. Thair is jollie maintenance of these sortis of beastis, becaus it is full of great woodis, quhairof thair is pastyme of hunting greatlie exercised, speciallie be the nobilitie and gentlmen. Andro Bourd sayeth, thair be more parkis in Ingland than in all Europe besyd.

Scotland, ane vther pairt of Brittain, which at this tyme I have thought guid to treat of at large, that no farther mention of the situation might be maid heirefter, begane sumtyme at the hill called Grampius, now called

Grantesbane, stretching to the farthest coast northward. Bot efter the overthrow of the Pickis, it begane at the river Tweid, and sumtyme at the river of Tyne; the fortoun of warres altering the same as it doeth all other thingis. Thairfoir the lenth of Scotland from Tweid to the farthest coast, is esteemed to be four hundreth auchtie myllis. Bot as Scotland is broader than Ingland, so it is longer and endeth lyk ane wedge; for the montane Grampius is evill favoured and craigie, which Tacitus in the lyffe of Julius Agrecola doeth remember, pearcing throw the bowels of Scotland from the coast to the Germane sea, that is to say, from the mouth of the river of Die, to the Irisch sea, evin to the Laik Lowmond, which lyeth betweine that countrie and that same hill. The river of Tweid which springeth furth of ane litle hill, not far beyond Roxburgh, is mingled with the Germane ocean, joynand southward with that countrie, which is called the Marches, being the east boundis betuixt Scotland and Ingland. The said river of Tweid separatteth the merches from Northumberland, the farthest countrie of Ingland, having prospect to the Germane sea. The chiefe toun thairof is Berwick, now in possessioun of the Inglismen. The waster limite of Scotland whillum was Cumberland, which the river

of Solue divydeþ from Annerdaill. Betuixt these tuo regiones Chiveat hillis appear. Nixt to the merches Pichtland bordereth, now termed Lochden, bounding vpoun the east ane verrie hillie countrie, barrane almost of any tries. The most famous townes of the same be Dunbar, Hadintoun, Leith, Northbervick and Edinburgh, the kingis seatt, quhair also is the castle of Maidenes, ane verrie strong and defensible place. By the same citie is the river of Forth, commonly called the Firth, doeth watter and pas by, which being carried to the Germane Ocean, maketh gritt armes or meres, commonly called the Scottis sea: quhairin, besyd vtheris, is the illand of St Columbe, by name called Æmonia. The same river devydeþ againe from Lochden, a countrie quhair ar many townes, as Dumfermling, Coupar, by the notable toun of Sanct Androis, speciallie famous for the universitie, and beautified with the sea of the archbishop and primate of all Scotland. On the other syd towardis the Irisch syd, northward, is Nidis-dalia, so called by the river that passeth thairby, quhair lie the strong townes of Douglas and Dunfries. Upoun the south adjoyneth Galloway, more abundant of fodder for cattle than of quheit, quhairin be the toun of Candida Cassa, now called Whitterne, and the

ancient toun of St Ninianes, adorned also with ane episcopal sea. In these pairtis besydis is the toun of Wigtoun, quhair thair is ane laik of wonderfull nature ; becaus the one syd doeth freis in winter, and the vther not. By that, standeth the countrie of Caricta, once renouned : the toun Caricta quhair of, perchance it tuik the name abone Caricta. Towardis the wast is Elgonia, by which name Ptolomie calleth that countrie, bordering vpoun the ocean, quhair is the laik Lowmond, which is verie broad and large, containing manie illandis situat at the foote of the montaine Grantesbene, aught myllis from the castle of Dumbrytone, besydis the river Bodotria, now called Levinius, becaus it appeareth by Cornelius Tacitus, that Bodotria and Glota have sundrie passages into the sea entring into the river Glota or Glude. Hear sum doe contend, that the name of Bodotria is not weill applyed to Levinius for the reason forsaid, and ar said to be clearlie dirempt on from the other, as Levinius and Glota ar not : quhairfoir they judge the river, now called the Firth, to be that which of old had to name Bodotria, and to prove the same, they ad many resounes which hear I omitt. Bot a guid space on this syd of Grampius

Againe, toward the east, is the countrie of Angus and Mearnes, vpoun the sea coast, quhairin Fordoun by situation is verie strong, and for the relictis of St Palladius, the Scottish apostle, famous. On the same syd of Scotland is the countrie of Marre, garnished with ane citie called Aberdene, standing betuixt the tua riveris Doun and Dea, with ane guidlie vniversitie, adorned alsoe with ane episcopall sea, and tuo fair bridges on the said tuo riveris Doun and Dea ; the on of sewin arches of four squair stone, verie rare and maryellous, and the other ane arche of curious workmanschip. These tuo riveris aboundeth also with great plentie of salmond fisches, by the which the inhabitants of that cittie ar greatlie inriched. Then followeth Murray, which the tuo notable riveris doe compas about, Nessa and Spea : Att the mouth of the last river standeth the toun of Elgine, about the bankis thair of be hudge woodis, replenished with all kyndis of wyld beastis. Thair is also ane laik called Spina, stored with plentie of swanes. Bot in the midle pairt standeth the broad countrie of Rossa, now called Beenerozen, stretching to the vttermost angle, evin to both the seaes, and the farther it goeth eastward, it is the better inhabited. In the same is ane bosom of

knawin so far north. Howbeit, he meaned not by this, that the Silures should inhabit Ardgyle, bot rather South Waillis, from whence the passage over was better knowne, and, as he might have vnderstanding, schortest also; quhair alsweill Tacitus as Antoninus seimes to place that people betuixt Ardgyle and Lennox.

Westward lyeth the countrie of Stirling, so called by ane toun thair. Hear the forest of Caledonia begane, on the left syd, which within strecheth fare and abroad. This forrest sumtyme bred quhyte bullis, long maned like lyones, which war so wyld as they could not be tamed. But because the flesch was pleasant and daintie to the mouth, the hail race of them almost is extinguished. Thair lykwayes is the castle of Calidone, situat by Taus, called Donchelden. From ane litle hill of the forrest, ryseth Glotta or Glude, which, by a broad channel, falleth into the Irisch ocean: forstayed in a maner by the bankis of the montane Grampius, it slydeth into the sea by grent tydis, so as witnesseth Tacitus, quhom the Romanes thought to be ane other island of that river, that was daylie called Glottwaill, which countrie that river runeth by: and in the same is the citie of Glasgow, ane gudlie vniversitie.

above twelff mylles; amongst thame is Iona, beautified with the tomb of the Scottish kingis. The illanderis generallie speak Irisch, which declaireth thame to tak thair originall of the Irish natione.

Beyond Scotland, towardis the north, lie the illes of Orchades, which Ptolomie sayeth to be thriescoir in number; sum lying in the Dencalidone sea, and sum in the Germane Ocean. The principall of these islandis is Pamonia, because it is a bischopis sea, and is vnder the government of Scotland. The illanderis vse the Gothis speach, which argueth thame to proceed from the Germanes. They be tall of stature, but verie healthie, and lustie of bodie and mynd, leiving uerie long, although thair cheifest food be fisches: quhair the land is almost continewallie besett with cold in manie places, and is not able to beir corne, and generallie almost without trie or bosch.

Beyond the Orchadis lie the illandis of Scotland, under the command of the king of Scottis, and beyond these standeth Thule, in the frozen sea, now called Iseland, to which our merchantis repaire everie yeir for fisching, in the somer. And this much of the soite of Scotland; now of the nature and maneris of the people.

The Scottis which inhabite in the southerne part be weill nurtured, and leive in guid civillitie, and the most civill vse the Inglisch speach; and for thair wode thair is geasonie and scant; thair commoun fewell is of stones, which they dig out of the earth. The other part northerne, ar full of montaines, and verie rud and homlie kynd of people doeth inhabite, which is called the Reidschankis, or wyld Scottis. They be cloathed with ane mantle, with ane schirt fashioned* after the Irisch maner, going hair legged to the knie. Thair weapones ar bowis and dartes, with ane verie broad sword, and ane dagger scharp onlie at the ennsyd. All speik Irisch, feiding vpoun fisches, milk, cheise, and flesches, and having great numberis of cattell. The Scottis differ from the Inglisch in lawes and customes, becaus they vse the civill law as almost all other countries do. The Inglisch have thair awin lawis and edictis. In certane other conditions they be not far vntyk. Both thair languages is one, thair habite and complexion alyk: On courage in battle, and in the nobilitie on desir, and pregnancie in hunting. The countrie houssis be narrow, covered with

* Or Saffroned.

strae and reid, quhairin the people and beastis doe lige togidder.

Thair tounes, besydis St Johnstoun, ar vn-walled, which is to be ascryved to thair animositie and hardines, fixing all thair succouris and help in the valiencie of thair bodies. The Scottis ar verie wyse, as thair learning declair-eth, for to quhatsoevir airt they doe apply thamselfis, they doe easilie proffeit in the same. Bot the idle and sloathfull, and such as doe shun and avoyd labour, seeme in gritt povertie, and yit will not stick to boast of thair gentilitie and noble birth, as thought it war more semlie for the honest to laik, then comlie by exercise of sum honest airt to gett thair liveing. Bot the Scottis be generallie devout observaris of religione. And this much of Scotland.

Wailles, the third pairt of Brittain, lyeth vpoun the left hand, which, lyk ane promontorie, or forland, or ane ille, as it war, on everie syd is compassed with the maine sea, except it be on the south east pairt, with the river of Sabrine, commonlie callit Seuerane, which divydeth Waillis from England: although some late wryttaris affirme Herefoord to be a land betuixt Wailles and England, and say that Waillis begines at the Chepstow, quhair the river Wey augmenteth, with ane other river

called Luge, passing by to Herfoord, doeth rune into the sea *, which river rysseth in the middle of Wailles out of that hill, bot vncertane whidder out of that spring that Sabrine doeth ; for evin to that place thair goeth ane great arme of the sea, which passeth thorow the land wastward, on the right hand leiveth Cornwaill, and on the left Waillis, which topographie or discriptione, although it be new, yitt I thought guid to follow. Thairfoir Waillis is extendit from the toune of Chepstow, quhair it begineth almost be ane strait lyne a litle abone Shrewisberrie, evin to Wast Chester, northward vnto that pairt. Sua many of the Brittanis as remained alive efter the slauchter and loose of thair countrie, att the lenth being driven to thair schiftis, did repair, as ancient wryttaris doe report, quhair, pairtlie throw refuge of the montaines, and pairtlie of woodis and marisches, they remained in saftie, quhilk they injoye to this day. That land efterward the Inglishmen did call Waillis, and the Brittanis, inhabitantis of the same, Welshmen. For among the Germanes it signifieth ane stranger, ane aliene, ane outborne or strange man ;

* This arme of the sea, as I judge, is now called Aust, quhairin is ane passage betuixt the village of Aust and Chepstow.

that is, such ane one that hath ane contrarie language from theris. For Waillis, in thair tongue, is called ane stranger, as ane Italiane, or Frenchman, which differis in speach from the Germane signifieth *homo*, which is ane man in Inglish; thairfor the Inglishmen, ane people in Germanie, efter they had wone Brittain, called the Brittaines escaped efter the destructione of thair countrie efter the maner Welshmen, becaus they had ane other tongue or speach besydis these, and the land which they inhabited Waillis, which name efterward, both to the people and the countrie, did remaine. By this meane the Brittaines, with thair kingdome, lost the name. Bot they which affirme that name to be deryved of thair king or queine, without doubt be deceived.

The countrie soyll toward the sea coast, and in other places in the valleyis and plaines, is most fertile, which yieldeth, both to man and beast, great plentie of fruit and grase. Bot in the vther places for the most part it is barren and lese fruitfull, because it lacketh tillage; for which caus husbandmen live hardlie, eating oatin cakes and drinking milk mixt with watter. Thairin be manie tounes and strong castles, and four bischoprickis, if the bischoprick of Hereford be compted in Ingland, as the late wryttaris declair. The first

Dischoprick is Menew, so called of Meneva, which at this day they call Sanct Davidis, ane citie verrie ancient, situat vpoun the sea coast, and boundeth wastward, towardis Irland ane other Landaff, the thrid Bangor, and the fourth Asaph, which be vnder the archbischope of Canterburie. The Welschmen have ane language [different] from the Inglismen, which, as they say that fetch thair pedegrie from the Trojanes, doeth pairtie sound of the Trojanes antiquitie and pairtie of the Greek. Bot howsoeuer it be, the Welschmen doe not pronounce our speach so pleasantlie and gentlie as the Inglismen doe, because they speak more in the throat, and contrariewyse the Inglismen, following richtlie the Latines, doe exercise thair voyce sumthing within the lipes, which to the heararis seemeth pleasant and sweet. And this much of Wailles, the thrid pairt of Brittain.

Now followeth the fourth and last pairt of Brittain, called Cornewall. This pairt begineth on that syde which standeth towardis Spaine wastwardis: towardis the east it is of breadth fourscore and ten myllis, extending a litle beyond Sanct Germanes, which is ane fair famous village, situat vpoun the right hand vpoun the sea coast, quhair the greatest pairt of the countrie is bot twentie mylles. For

this parcell of land on the right hand is compassed with the coast of the maine sea, and on the left with the airme of the sea, which a befoir is declaired. Pairt of the land runeth vp to Chepstow, quhair the countrie is in forme of ane horne; for at the first it is narrow and then groweth broader. A litle beyond the said toun of Sanct Germane eastwardis it bordereth vpoun England, wast, south, and north. The maine sea is round about it. It is a verie barren soyll, yielding fruit more throw travell of the tilleris and husbandmen, than throw the goodness of the ground. Bot thair is great plentie of leid and tin, in the myning and digging quhairof doeth speciallie consist the living and sustentatioun of the inhabitantis.

Thair tongue is far dissonant from the Inglish: bot it is much lyk to the Welsch tongue, becaus they have mony wordis common to both tongues. Yitt this difference is betuixt thame: when a Welschman speaketh, the Cornischman rather vnderstandeth manie wordis spokin by the Welschman than the haill taill he telleth; quhairby it is manifest that these thrie people doe vnderstand ane other in lyk maner as the southerne Scottis doe vnderstand and perceave the northerne. Bot it

is ane thing verie rare and marvellous, that in on ille thair sould be such warietie of speaches.

Cornewaill is in the dyocie of Exeter, which was once worthie the fourt pairt of the illand for the contrarietie of the languages. Efterward the Normandis, quho constitute ane kingdome of all these thrie pairtes, rekoned Cornwall to be on of the thrie countres or schyres of that pairt.

This much of the particular descriptione of Britthane that the haill bodie of the realme by the memberis may the better be knawin to sum peradventure that nevir hard the same of befoir. The forme of the illand is triquetra, or thrie cornered, having thrie corneris or thrie sydis: tuo thairof, that is to say, the corner towardis the east and the corner towardis the wast, both extending northwardis, ar the longest. The thryd syd, which is the south syd, is far shorter than the other, for the illand is far longer of lenth than of breadth; and in the other tua pairtes is contained the lenth, evin so in the last the breadth: in which place the breadth begineth, and so continoweth or conteaneth from the south pairt to the north. It is bot narrow, the first and richt corner of which illand eastwardis in Kent and Dover and Sandwich, from thence to Calice or Bulloigne in France, is the first distance of

threttie myllis. Fra this angle, which is against France, to the thrid angle, which is the north in Scotland, the maine quhair of boundeth vpoun the sea, bot no land seine: And thair the land is lyk vnto ane wadge, evin at the verie angle of the land in Scotland. The lenth is sewin hundreth myllis. Againe, the lenth from the corner of Dover in Kent to the vttermost pairt of Cornwall, beyond Sanct Micheallis Mont, which is the wast pairt or wast angle, is supposed to be thrie hundreth myllis. From this last angle, being the last and vttermost pairt of Cornwall, which hath ane prospect towardis Spaine; in which pairt also standeth Irland; betuixt Brittain and Spaine, to the north angle, in the furthest pairt of Scotland, in the which pairt the illand doeth end, the lenth is aught hundreth myllis; in which pairt thair be verrie guid heavines and saiff harboroughis for schipis, and apt passages into Irland, being not past one dayes sailling. Bot the schorter passage is from Waillis to Waterfoord, ane toun in Irland vpoun the sea coast, much lyk to that passage betuixt Dover and Caleise, or sumquhat more. Bot the schorter passage of all is out of Scotland from this last angle to Hamptoun, which is ane toun vpoun the sea coast, with ane heavin so called towardis the south, and thairfor

called Southamptoun. Betweine the angle of Trent and Cornwall they doe measure be straight lyne the haill lenth of the illand, and doe say that it containeth aucht hundreth mylles; and the breadth from Meneva or Sanct Davidis to Yarmouth, which is the vttermost pairt of the illand towardis the east, doe containe tua hundreth mylles; for the breadth of the illand is in the south pairt, in which pairt is the front and beginning of the land, and ended narrow, as it war straight. So the circuit or compass of the land is aughtene hundreth mylles, which is twentie more nor Cæsar doeth rekone or accompt. Thus endeth the discriptione of England, Scotland, Waillis, and Cornwaill.

HEARE BEGINETH
THE
CRONICLES OF SCOTLAND.

KING James the First being treasonable slaine, and the tratouris slayeris of him condignlie punished and put to death for the same, yitt nevirtheles, the haill realme was brokin and divydit in the selff. For why? quhair thair is no awe of a king or prince, they that ar most furthie in the injayring and furth setting of thamselffis, leivis evir without measour or obedience after thair awin pleasour, and so lang as the king is young, great men rignes at thair awin libertie, opressand all men, as they, without doubt, will be punished thairefter.

This James the First left bot onlie one sone behind him, called James the Second,

not past six yeires of aige, quho then was brought to Scoone, and crouned be the nobilitie. But, becaus the king was not sufficient to governe the realme, for inlaik of aige, the lordis maid ane conventioun to advyse whom they thought most able, both for manheid and witt, to tak the governement of the commonwealth in hand; att quhilk conventione, nane was thought more able nor Alexander Livingstoun, knicht of the Callendar, and thairfor was maid governour over all the realme: and als Sir Williame Crichtoun was new approued chancler of Scotland, because he had worthielie exercised the same in King James First, his tyme.

In this meane tyme, Alexander, Earle of Douglas, being uerie potent in kine and friendis, contemned all the kingis officeris, in respect of his great puissance, so that thair was manie complaintes maid of him to the governour and magistrates, and in speciall vpoun the men of Annerdail: because he not onlie spoilyed the wholl countrie nearest about him, bot also cruellie slew the indwellaris thairof without any pitie: and when he was comanded to repair for sick injuries done be him, he both obstinatlie disobeyed, and also stopped otheris that wold have mend-

ed thair offences; and caused proclaime publicklye, that no man within Annerdail and otheris boundis quhatsoever, pertaining to his dominiones, not to obey, and if he was called, not to obey any of the kingis officeris under the paine of dead, alleadging, that he had priveledge of the king to decyd all matteris within the boundis forsaid. Quhairfoir, the nobilitie that war of guid zeall and conscience, sieing justice alluterlie smothered on everie syd, war highlie commoved at the said Alexander, Earle of Douglas, but durst not attempt to punisch thairfoir, becaus they dred it sould provock greater troubles to thameselffes, and to the realme, if they wold invade so great ane man.

Through this meane, the wholl youthis of Scotland begane to raige in mischief and lust, and so long as he was to punisch, meikle hirschip and stouth was in land and borrowis, great crueltie of nobles amongst themselffis; for slauchter, theft, and murther, was than patent, and so continewed day by day, sua that he was estemed the greatest man of renown, that was the greatest brigant, theife and murther. But they wer the caus of this mischeife that war governouris and magistrates of the realme.

In this meane tyme, manie great disensions raise amongst vs, but it was vncertane quho war the moveris, or by quhat occasione the chancellar exercised such office, fardder nor became him. He keiped both the castle of Edinburgh and als our young king thair-intill, quho was committed to his keeping be the haill nobilitie, and ane great pairt of the noblmen assisted to his opinion. Vpon the other syd, Sir Alexander Levingstoun, bear and the authoritie committed to him be consent of the nobilitie, as said is, conteaned ane other factione to whois opinion Queine mother with monie of the nobilitie verie trowlie assisted. So the principallis of both the factiones, caused proclame lettres at mercat croce, and principall villages of the realme, that all men sould obey conforme to the forsaidis letters, sett forth be thame, vnder the paine of death. To the quhilk no man knew to quhom he sould obey, or to whois lettres he sould be obedient vnto. And als great trouble appeared in this realme, becaus thair was no man to defend the burghes, preistis, and poor-men, and labouraris, hauntand to thair leisum bussines, aither privat or publick. These men, becaus of these ennormities, might not travell for theifis and brigantis, and siclyk

all vther weak and decripit persones who was vnable to defend themselffis, or yitt to get food or sustentatioun to thaimselffis, war most cruellie vext in sick troublous tymes. For when any past to seik redrese at the chancellor of sick injuries and troubles sustained by thame, the theifis and brigantis, feinzied themselffis to be of ane other factioun, wold burne thair houss and carrie thair hail guidis and geir away, or evir they returned thame agane. And evir sick mischeif befell these that yeid to plenzie to the governour of the oppressioun done to thame. Some other guid men moved vpoun consideratioun and pitie of thair present calamities, thoalled many sick injuries, and contained thaimselffis at home, and sought no redrese. In the midst of thir thingis and troubles, all thingis being out of ordour, Queine-mother begane to find out ane moyane, how shoe sould diminisch the chancellouris power and augment the governouris-power, quhois authoritie shoe assisted. Sna shoe passed to Edinburgh, convoyed with a small traine. The chancellour ressaived hir with gladnes, and gave hir entres to visit hir zounge sone, and gave command, that quhensoevir the queine cam to the Castle, it sould be patent to hir grace. But shoe

verie craftilie dissembled, that she cam to intercommoun with nobles, alleadging that thair was nothing that shoe hated so much as cruell warres and dissensione ; knowing that thair was great mischeife ingendred amang the noblmen of the realme ; and thairfoir, with ane guid will, schoe wold, that all discord war sett a syd, and peace and vnitie to be nourished among the nobles ; and desired also, that the king war brought vp in the fear of God, and honorable to all the sight of the world : for in him lay the onlie hope and restitutione of the comoun-wealth to the awinestate ; and punischment of transgressouris for the offences committit at such troublous tymes. And to bring this purpose to the effect, schoe promised to imploy her hail care and labouris to bring all the subjectis of the realme to peace and rest.

Be thair and other such lyk wordis, the chancellour removed all kynd of suspitione and hatred out of his mynd, quhilk he suspected the queine bure to him of a befoir. Sua followed sick familiaritie betwixt the chancellour and the queine with her assistaris, that shoe gatt credit to visit, and to haunt companie with hir sone, both day and night, without any impediment.

Att the last, spying tyme and opportunitie to fulfill hir purpose, when shoe had sick libertie to enter and ische to the Castle, shoe gave the chancellour to vnderstand, that she had maid ane vow to pas to the quhyte kirk of Brechine, for the health and prosperous succes of hir sone, etc ; desiring thairby, to have license to carrie away tua cofferis with hir cloathis and ornamentis forth of the castle, quhilk being granted to hir, shoe inclosed the zoung king in one of the cofferis, and hir cloathis in ane other coffer. Schortlie after, the keiparis and watchmen of the castle [deceaved on this maner, she caused certain men] that knew of hir purpose, to have horss readie to carrie away the saidis cofferis to the schoar of Leith, quhair the cofferis war imbarcked togidder with hir self. And so shoe passed forwardis into Stirling, and was ane great pairt of the watter vpward or evir the keiparis of the castle cold perceave themselfis deceaved ; and when the governour vnderstood the same, he cam suddenlie out of the castle of Stirling with all his forces, and received the king and his mother with great blythnes and joy ; and esteemed the queine highlie that shoe had attempted so high and waightie ane purpos, with great danger of hir lyffe, and had

brought the same to ane prosperous fyne, both for the weilfair of the realme, and also of the king hir sone. Thairfor the governour called all his friendis and assisteris to ane counsell, vpoun the third day thairatter, and said to thame in this maner.

“ Quhat great intollerable and arrogant troubles, and great oppressiones, be to our rebuik and schame, and how we have sustained thame, hairtie freindis, everie one of yow doe knaw pertylie, since Sir Williame Crichtoun, captane of Edinburgh, was promoted, now alledged to the chancellarie of the realme and keiping of the prince; for not onlie hes he maid the wholl land perteaning to the king, tributeris to him, wha is an high-officer, bot also wold have oppressed ws with insufferable tyrannie, and swa should have vsurped all riches, honour, and authoritie, and ws brocht to povertie, schame, and utter miserie, if he had holdin forward his vicked purpose and intent. Hes he not laboured evir sensyne, without any punishment of wicked livaris and perturbaturis of the commonwealth, to compell all men to obey his chairges? He not onlie laboured also to drese and set forth all matteris, both privat and publick, quhilk as if he had beine supreme magistrat, approv-

ed by the wittis of this realme, but doubt, if this noble woman, our souerane mother, through her great wisdom and prudencie, and speciall of the Almighty God, had not helped us all the sooner, we had thoalled sharplie persecution, mair nor any of us could have per-ceaved. Shoe passed to the chancellour, againest my will indeid, becaus I knew his subtilitie, he had so mervellous ane foresight of all kynd of suspitione, or of ony craft or fraud that may redound to his hurt or dampnage. Zitt, with ane marvellous conceat, shoe has takin away her sone, and brocht him now to us, quhairby I vnderstand, that the wysest man is not at all tymes sickere, nor yitt the hardiest man happiest. Now, the chancellor, notwithstanding of his great wisdom and foresight, with great shame, hath lost the king, vnder the cullour of quhois authoritie he overrane everie man, lyke ane greidie and vnsatiabie tyrant, without all regaird of trew honour or humanitie. Quhat evir he purposed to doe, he sett it fvrth vnder precept of the king, quhairby the poore people should tak the greater fear and dreadour to disobey him. Bot now his chance is both schamerull and miserable, and everie man will laugh him to scorne; we, be the contrair to us

great honour, and the rather, that we have in our handis the king, quhilk we desir aboue all creatour on the earth. Be of guid comfort, thairfoir, all the mischeife, banishment, troubles, and wexatione, quhilk the chancellour thought to have done to ws, latt ws doe the lyk to him; latt ws also tak up sum band of men of warre, and everie man efter his power, send secreit messages to thair freindis, that they, and everie one that favouris ws, may conveye togidder quytelie in Edinburgh earlie in the morning; sua that the chancellour sould not knaw ws to cum for the seidging of the castle, whill we have the seidge evin beltit about the wallis, sua yea sall have subject to yow all that wold have arrogantlie oppressed yow. I knaw that we have strenth enough for this effect, if our heartis serve us. But I say, the perrill and oppresione that yea have beine in on the ane pairt, the commoditie, friedome and opportunitie of tyme, on the other pairt, with the great honoures and glorie that will follow thairvpoun, sould persuad you more nor my wordis can doe: we inlak nothing but hardiment; courage, chance and fortoun, quhilk we think to say, will supplie the rest."

Quhen the governour had said, everie man

with ane glaid hairt and will promised to assist him with all thair strenth: yea albeit Archibald earle of Douglas wold concur with the chancellor in his contrair: and the Queine promised to furnische the men of warre with vittual out of hir awin garneris, the tyme of the seidge. Attour shoe said, that no man mistered to tak fear of the earle of Douglas, that he wold cum and support the chancelour, for he hated him so much, that he wisched nothing more nor the ruine of the lord Creichtounes hous, and his posteritie rooted out allwterlie. Throw this everie man tuik better courage, and promised to doe all that lay in them for performing of the governouris command and chairge: and thairafter the convention dissolved, and everie man went home to mak him readie to the effect forsaid.

Bot now latt ws retorne againe to our purpose. The chancellour persaved himselff so done, craftilie deceived be his foes, he thought thair was nothing to follow thairupon, (in respect of the want of the king,) but vtter ruine and destructione of his hous, kine, and freindis, and thairfor took purpose to send ane message to the earle of Douglas, and desired to have support of him againes the governour and Queine, quham he supposed

wold cum schortlie to invaid him; quhilk if he wold doe, he promised faithfullie to mak the said earle mutuall support, and sould stand his friend leillie and trewlie beyond all utheris, etc. when it sould chance him to have adoe with his enemies. The message scantlie endit, the earle Douglas with an irfull countenance, lykeas if he had been wood and furious, ansred him againe. " It is bot litle skaith I think for me, albeit sick mischeivous traytouris as Sir Williame Crichtoun and Alexander Livingstoun, whom yea call governour, moue warres contrair otheris, and als it becometh not the honorable estait of noblmen to help any of them, albeit ilk ane of thame wraick vtheris, so that thair war not sick ane thing as any memorie of thame heir-after to our posteritie. As to mysetff, thair is nothing more pleasant than to hear of warre and discord betixt them tua unhappie tyrantis; and namlie, quhair the beginning of thair dissensione is not groundit vpoun ane guid caus, bot vpoun ane schamfull and wicked ground, wold God I might sie ane miserable mischeif to befall thame both, sieing they have deserved the same condigulie throw thair awin ambitione, falshood, pryd, and hight. For I knaw it is the just judgment

of God, that deceitful tyrantis, setting thair wholl purpos and intent to wraik otheris, according to thair demerites, sould be punished in the sight of the world : and speciallie, they have so oft offended noblemen and simple men of guid lyffe and conversatioun."

Soone be the chancellour had ressavd this answer, the governor had belted the seidge about the Castle, and invaided the same so scharplie, that, that not being forseine, nor provydit ther foir in tyme, the chancellour tuik purpose to render the same in the governouris handis ; and to bring the same more easilie to effect, he requeisted the governour be ane, bot tua dayes trewis, that he might cum furth to the feildis befoir the yettis, and talk and intercommoun with him vpoun sundrie effaires concerning the commounwealth, and als promised him, be the faith of his bodie, to schow him that thing, that wold redound to both thair proffeittis and securities contrair otheris, that hated them both as one.

The governour, glaid of this message, accompanied with a small number of his freindis, as was conveyned betuixt thame, mett the chancellour at the place appoyntted, quhair the chancellour reveilled the scharp answer of the earle Douglas, that he sent to him, when

he sought support to eschew the governouris present wraith, saying that he wisched nothing more than that everie ane of thame sould distroy otheris: quhairfor, said he, "since this wickednes and evill is equall manifest to ws both, and in the meane tyme, if it sall chance ws any fardder to continew in this feid, it sall redound to his advantage, and to our great skaith and schame: quhairby we tuo salbe ane easie prey to the earle Douglas, our commoun enemy; and thairfor I wold we had regaird to the veilfair of our selffis and freindis. If our dissentione have any fardder progres it wilbe manifest more noysum vnto us, nor if we had warres with our vnfreindis: and as to myselff, I remove all rancour of mynd, seiking frielie from the bottome of my hairt your peace and kyndnes; and am both content to render the Castle, and my selff in your handis, in what conditione yea pleas, willing to be ane faythfull and obedient servant to the Prince and your selff, so long as yea bear the government of the realme, efter the adwyse of the kingis counsellouris and youris."

The governour hard thir wordis verie pleasantlie, and had guid hope of better to follow thairvppun, thinkand weil that this present

discord put to rest, and the commounweill put to quyetnes, he sould more easilie repres all injuries within the realme; and thairfoir with ane hairtie countenance, requeisted the chancellour to be willing to doe as he said; and if he keipit his promise trewlie, he sould cutt of all the wicked memberis and perturbaturis of the commounwealth, and rull the realme from thence, with great tranquillitie and peace. Then, bot any stay alsoone as he had put himselfe in the king and governouris will, and delyvered the keyis of the Castle in signe and takin of the rendring thair of frielie, he requeisted the benevolence of the haill nobilitie present for the tyme, quho held him from thence forth, not as aneemie, but as ane principall pillar of the commounweill. Efter this, the governour was ressaived in the Castle with great triumph and joi, and then Sir Williame Crichtoun ressaived againe both the gift of the castle and chancellarie, lyk as he had befoir. Throw the quhilk daylie amitie and freindschip increased betweene the governour and chancellour, and their freindis on everie syd, that all men supponed the same to indure for evir vnbrokin.

In this meane tyme, quhill the countrie

was walterrand to and fro in this maner, thair was nothing but murther, thift, and slauchter in the south and wast of Scotland, for Sir Thomas Boyd slew Sir Allane Stewart of Gartullie, knycht, at Pawmatt Horne, thrie myllies from the Falkirk, for old feid that was betuixt thame, the third yeir after the death of King James the First. Quhilk death was soone revenged thairefter ; for Alexander Stewart, to revenge his brotheris slauchter, manfullie sett vpoun Sir Thomas Boyd in plaine batle, quhair the said Sir Thomas was cruellie slaine with manie valient men on everie syd. It was foughtin that day so manfullie, that both the pairties wold vtter and leive otheris sundrie tymes, and recounter againe at the sound of the trumpett, quhill at the last, the victorie inclyned to Sir Alexander Stewart, as said is. And sua the haille southwast of Scotland was divydit into tua pairtis, and nevir tuik rest quhill the deceas of the earle of Douglas, quho depairtit this present lyfe in the hot fevir at Lastalrige, in the yeir of God 1439 yeires, to quhom Williame his sone succeded, ane young man of fourteine yeires of age, gottin vpoun Mauld Lindsay, dochter to the earle of Crawford, quhom the said Archibald married at Dundie

samtyme, with sick pomp and triumph, that the lyk was nevir sene at no manes mariages. This Williame was the sixt belted earle of the hous of Douglas. He was ane young man of singular guid appeirance at the beginning, but allase, the tender youth, if it be not brought vp in the fear of God, is so easielie corrupted, that it inclynes rather to vyce than vertew, and that throw the mischeivous companie of harlottis and flatteraris, quhilkis ar the most vnhappie and vicked pest that evir man, of quhatsoever estate or conditione he be of, may be infested with. For if this young gentelman had cum in godlie and honest companie, without doubt he had beine ane man of singular good witt and manhood. But he haunted proud and vngodlie pienes companie, and thairby he, to the great contemp-tione of the kingis auctoritie, at all tymes accompanied aboue his estate quhair evir he raid, convoyed with a thousand horsmen, att sum tymes tuo thousand and moe; amongst whom, he mantained ane great number of theifis and murthereris, and wold bring thame to Edinburghe, or any other toun, of sett purpose in the kingis sight, to latt him vnderstand his mightie power that he might raise. Attour he thought himselff sicker and frie

from the injures of all enemies if he represented the same arrogance his father did vse befor. And sua he not onlie imbraced the haill forme and maner of his fatheris conditiounes, bot also surmonted his pryd and hight abone the expectatioun of onie man. He eikit his housold meikle mair nor it was befor in his fatheris tyme; and als be the persuasioun of flattereris, he conduced many wicked tyrantis out of all countries to depend vpon him, quhairfoir he might be the more dred and awfull to everie man, quhill at the last he tuik sic waine conceat of himselff within his boundis, that be the vaine flat-terrie of his dependaris, he thought no man within the realme might be his fallow or companion. For it is said, he thought it bot a small matter to overthrow knightis; and thairfoir to advance his mightie power, he held parliamentis within his awn boundis, without advyce of the king.

Sir James Stewart, brother to the Lord Lorne, quha married King James the First his wayff, assisted be the earle of Douglas, and that through sum disensione that was be-tuixt him, the governour, and chancellour. By quhat occasione they discorded, can no man tell. It was thought, he sieing the

countrie so divydit as said is, to have had sum rule in the realme alsweill as any other, be reasoun he had maried the kingis mother. The governour, to repres Sir James Stewartis insolencie, took him, with his brother, and kest them both in prisone, dreadand if they had resorted long in the earle Douglas companie, that he sould have had greater difficultie to repres thair insolencie and tirranie.

The Queine, perceived to be highlie comoved at hir husband and brotheris imprisonment, was wairdit also with the governour within the Castle of Stirling, quhilk was in his awin keiping at that tyme, and was detained thair, and nevir was relaxed quhill thair was ane conventioun maid of the wholl nobilitie; in quhois presence it behoved hir to mak hir purgatione that shoe was frie of all misrule committed be hir husband, nor gaive no counsall thairto. And also, if evir chanced him ony maner of way to trouble the realme or molest ony of the subjectis thairof, that shoe should not be participant thairof in tyme cuming.

After this, the said Sir James and his brother war relaxed, and lattin furth at the request of the Chancellour; and als Sir Alex-

ander Seatoun alias Gordoun, the first earle of Huntlie, obleist him, and became cautioner that sick enormities, contrair the king and governour, should not be committed vnder the paine of four thousand markis, nor yitt to usurp nothing at his awin handis, nather office nor auctoritie concerning the commounwealth. Albeit the governour punished and corrected not thir men according to thair demerites, yitt he punished with great rigour vtheris richt honorabill and ancient men, quha vpoun ane small suspitione that he tuik of ony of thame, he compelled thame to compone for thamselvis, quhilk was ane verie hard thing, in respect he was governour of the realme. Utheris that were manifest oppressouris war not onlie thoalled to persevir, bot ony punischment of thair wickednes, bot also was remitted, although they had committed nevir so great crymes. This was done without the chancellouris counsall, quhairwith he was highlie offendit. For he thought weill, by this fascione of the governouris, both he and his auctoritie sould be contempned, and the comounweill, without regaird, wikedlie overthrowne. But he suppressed the anger of his heart, quhill he saw better occasione; and thairby took purpose to pas

home to Edinburghe, and thair to containe himselff quhill he war better adwysed.

All this tyme the governour remained with the king and his mother, in Stirling, and retained ane gritt gaird of men of warre, as vse is in Scotland in all sick troublous tymes, about him; and albeit he vnderstood the chancellour to be ane man of high spirit and courage, not willing to suffer so many vrongis, as he had gotten, vnrevenged if his power wold serve thairto; yitt nottheles, in respect he was governour, and having the king in his keiping, and thairfoir all the realme wold and should obey him, he regairded no man, ruling all thingis at his pleasour, bot ony adwyse or consultatione of vtheris nobles in the realme.

When thir thingis war in doeing, Williame earle of Douglas sent Malcome Fleming of Cumbernald, and Allane Lawder, ambassadouris vnto Charles the Sewinth of that name, king of France, to give him the dukrie of Turane, perteaning to him in heritage, quhilk his guidschir, quha was slaine at the batle of Warwett, [Verneuil] for the defence and libertie of France, joyseed and bruickit of befoir, and promised faithfullie, that quhatsoever was contained in the chartour maid thairon, that he sould fulfill the same exactlie, lykeas his for-

bearis did befoir him. Charles, moved with great love and zeall that he buir to the kingis of Scotland and thair leiges, granted glaidlie to thair requiest and message, and gave to him and his procuratouris the haill landis and rentis in France quhilkis his guidschir had a befoir. Upoun the other syd, the said noble earle of Douglas ambassadouris, gave thair oathis of fidelitie to the King of France and his successouris to doe all thingis concerning his pairt, as said is.

The message, sped with sick happie success, caused this earle of Douglas, being of tender aige, to be puffed up with new ambitione and greater pryd nor he was befor, as the nature of youth is; and als prydfull tyrantis and flatereris that war about him, throw this occasione spurred him evir to greater tyranie and oppressione nor any man vont to doe. This mischeife range not onlie in the south and southwast, bot also the men of the Illes invaided sundrie pairtis of Scotland at that tyme, both be fir and sword, and in speciall the Lennox was whollie overthrowne. The principall men of the Illes was Lachlen Macklend and Murdo Gibsone, tuo great theifis and murdereris. And, to resist thir cruell tratouris and murdereris, Johne Cul-

wheine of Luihase gathered ane companie of men, and fought at Lochlowmond, besyd Inchmyrrine, quhair he being oversett with ane great multitud of men of warre, was slaine, with monie of his folkis, fightand mantullie to the dead; and few of the men of the illes war slaine, and wan gritt victorie. Thairfoir tratouris became so proud and so insolent, that they brunt and hirried kirkis quhairvir they cam, and spaired nather old nor young, bairn nor wayff, bot cruellie wold burne thair hous and thame togidder, if they maid any obstacle; or else, if they maid no debait, without consideratioun or pitie, wold, with thair wayffis and bairnes, not wittand of sick occasione, cruellie murder and stick thame in thair bedis, bot ony regaird of old or young. Thus they reigned through the realme bot ony respect of God or man.

In this yeir, quhilk was the yeir of God 1439 yeires, thair raise ane great dearthe of victuallis within the realme, pairtly becaus the labouraris of the ground might not sow nor win the cornes throw the tumultis and cumberis in the countrie, and pairtly, quhilk is most apparentlie to be trew, was the verie wraith and ire of God to caus ws to knaw our selffis, and, through that scourge, to pro-

vock ws to amendment of lyfe. Thair rang also at this tyme ane terrible pest in the countrie, for all men that war infected thair-with died that same day he tuik it, bot ony remedie or help.

Attour, albeit thir plagues and scourges rang amongst ws, yitt nevirtheles sum men maid thame nevir to amend thair lyfes, bot daylie became worse. Divers vtheris, that plenzied vpoun the enormities that they sustained, they gatt little or no redrese, quhair-by the people began to wearie and cours that evir it chanced thame to live in sick wicked and dangerous tymes. It was than whispered out throw the realme, that the governour was the haill mischeife and mover of all that range for the tyme within the realme, alledging, that since he gat the gouvernement everie man supponed that he buir greater favour to bluidie mischeivous tyrantis nor it became him. And for the hatred that he buire to the chancellour, he drew also to his assistance and familiaritie the earle Douglas, and maintained him onlie for the chancellouris distructione and ruine. But how soone he knew the same perfytlie, and that everie man meined that it sould returne and redound to his great hurt, that the governour

and the earle war confederat, he began to consider and pause thairvpoun verie earnestlie, and tuik purpose to doe sum hardie and wittie act, quhairthrow he sould hazard himselfe, kine and freindis to be out of his perrill, or else to be hirried and perrill all for evir. Quhill at the last, when he had sum knowledge quhair the king was at his pastime, and quhat folkis accompanied him be expleratouris; he, accompanied with certane chosin men, past his way to the park of Stirling vpoun ane mirk night, and gave command to his freindis to be in readines with thair wholl forces to assiat him in the way, and to ly near hand betuixt Linlithgow and Stirling, if he had beine persued scharplie be his vnfrendis. And they that cam with himselff, to the number of ane hunder men all armed, cam in sundrie pairtis and diverss passages, for eschewing of suspitione, that ony man might perceave concerning the purpose if they had mett him. Wpoun the morne, in the morneing, the chancellour happened better nor any man supponed, for evin at the breaking of the day, the king cam out of the Castle to hunt and pas his tyme, convoyed with ane small number of horsmen, as his vse was; or evir he could perceave the chancel-

louris folkis lying for him, he was invironed and circuit round about, quha altogidder saluted the king with great reverence and humilitie, quhilk being done, the chancellour requested his grace effectuouslie that he wold be so good to declair him selff out of that prisone quherin the governour most wickedlie deteined him, to the great skaith and dampnage of the commounwealt; exorting him thairfoir to pas to Edinburgh or ony other pairt of Scotland, quhair evir he pleased, and he sould convoy him furth of all menis danger againes the heartis of all these that wold the contrair. Attour it became ane king or prince to live frielie and inspyring aboue all otheris, and not subject to any wassalis correctioun or chastisement, for that was the weill of thame that wisched his weil-fair.

Thir wordis said, the king began to smyll, quairthrow they vnderstood the king to be content of thair cuming, and glaid to pas with thame, and thairfoir hint his hors be the brydle, and convoyed him away to Edinburgh. Att this tyme, some of the kingis serwantis that came out with him, maid abs-tacle and debaitt; bot the governouris eldest sone, Alexander Levingstoun, forbad thame

to mak any impediment, saying, it was but ane vaine thing to stryve with so manie armed men, speciallie quhair thair was no danger : it is rather better at that tyme to sustaine ane schame albeit thair was none, and more necessar to give place to thair enemies, nor to attempt a thing aboue strength. It is the law and cours of fortoun, he is nearest perrill and decay that sittes highest on the wheill, and be the contrairie, will extoll and illustrate thame that be farthest castin down.

Soone after that the king had takin the gaitt to Edinburgh, thair mett him thair more nor four thousand armed men to assist him, be the chancellouris convoy, if any man wold have invaidit him ; and receaved him with gritt joy and glaidnes. Or evir the governour gatt word the king was placed in Edinburgh, for it chanced the governour to be ane dayes jorney out of Stirling at that tyme. But when he gott word that the king was away, he sped him to Stirling againe with all diligence, greatlie greived in his mynd ; and adwysed him greatlie quhat was to be done for this wicked work done to him ; for it greived him more nor all the troubles he had befoir, and was more crabed with himselfe, being esteimed with all within the realme, ane man of

singular guid-witt and manheid, that he sould have beine so negligent and slouthfull in keiping of the king, quhairby his vnfreindis had greater occasione to have him in dirisione. Attour the governour brunt with anger within himselff, that he was so mischeived in his behalfe, he leiving his freindis and familiaris with the king, quho knew nothing of this vn-happie fortoun that had chanced him, whom all his enemies desired above all thingis day and night, and as he beleived nothing more nor falshood amongst thamselffis at him, in respect of his enemies facil prey, hour and tyme so justlie keepit, and the kingis glaid depairting but ony debaite or impediment. Quhen he had paused in this maner vp and doun reasoning with himselff for his slouthfulnes, he begane to adwyse how he sould eschew all danger present and to cum ; and considered that it was vnsicker to committ his lyfe and honour in binding vp of bandis with the earle Douglas, who was but ane young man without experience or knowledge of sick high and weightie matteris, following the counsall of waine greidie flattereris, overrunand everie man that he might overcum, but law or reasone : throw the quhilk everie man that favoured the comounweill,

esteemed him as ane deadlie enemie, and not ane trew leidge of the realme ; and sua he thought that if he wold fullie leive the chancellor and vtheris, his faythfull freindis, and collige with the earle Douglas, in contempt of the chancellor, quho wold have vraiked thame both a befoir, it sold be ane readie way to caus himselfe, kin and freindis to be dispihted and lightlied be the wholl nobilitie, and be depryved of his governance, to his great dishonour and schame at the last, his bairnes, kine, and freindis, wraikit allutterlie, and himselff compelled to leave the realme for evir. Schortlie he consulted with his freindis quhat they thought best to be done in this matter. The same reasoned to and fro be men of good experience, they thought nothing better nor disemble all offences that was bygane, with all quarrellis and debaittes betuixt the chancellor and him to be sett a syd, and to be at vnitie and concord as they war a befoir.

The governour thought this counsall uerie guid and sweet, and thairfoir by all menis expectatione passed his way to Edinburgh, accompanied with ane small number of folkis : and that be the draucht and counsall of tua wyse and prudent prelattis, being in Edin-

burgh for the tyme, to witt, William Lich-toun, bishop of Aberdene, and John Innes, bischope of Murray, quha had beine with the chancellour, alsweill as with the governour, in all tymes bygane; quha maid gritt travell to bring thame to concord and peace. Quhill at last they broucht thame within Sanct Geillis kirk, voyd of all companie except ane small number of thair most speciall freindis, without veapones: and the governour begane in maner following. "Quhen I was in companie sundrie and divers tymes with wyse and prudent men, weill beseine in histories both new and old, oft tymes I have hard them say, that sober guidis and gear, with peace and concord, growis ay more and more to great substance at the last, and be the contrair richt potent men through ane small dissensione, has [bene] brought to ane vtter vraik and hirschip. Not onlie have we this in ancient histories of other realmes, but als we have the experience daylie amongst our selffis. Quhat skaith and dampnage, by the displeasure of our heartis, quhilk is worst of all, have we both sustained? Quhat lose of guidis and geir, familiaris and freindis, have we had since the beginning of our dissensione? As I beleive thair ar men leivand can

tell of treuth, we have nather strenth nor riches we had a befoir, nor yitt are we in so honorable estate, nather with nobles nor with commones, as we war vont to be when concord was amongst ws. Thir civill warres and dissensionies makis ws both as one odious to the people, and becaus it diminisches our fame and honour, quhilk more apperteanis to ws nor our lyves. I wold we took example of the thingis bygane and of the thingis that ar to cum. I am forsooth the more offendit that we tua, to whom the governance of the realme is most gainend, and thairfor was givin to ws be the wholl nobilitie, sould be holden as mocking stokis to everie man, and esteimed as prydfull and ambitious tyrantis, and to be the onlie caus of so great murther and thift, quhairby the wholl realme may be ane easie prey to our enemies: for they desir nothing more nor our dissensione, beholding till we tuo be rooted out allutterlie, throw the quhilk all law and justice salbe contemned, and everie man that pleassis sall put hand in the kingis awin persone, or els abuse all governance and authoritie. Remember thairfoir, that the nobilitie has put ws in this place, quhill the kingis majestie cum to perfyte aige, to hold this realme in tranquillitie on everie pairt: to repres all

seditionis tyrantis. For be our dissension the realme is wraiked and betrayed, and not ruled and governed as it sould be. I beseik the thairfoir, if thou has any favour to the prince or the realme, that yow will renounce all rancour of heart, whairthrow the commonwealth is wraiked; and latt us be reconcilled againe to our old freindschip that was betuixt us: for freindschip is the happiest band that can be maid for the weilfair of the realme and countrie: without the quhilk no man privat nor publick may be profitable to himself, nor to the commounwealth, and thairfoir latt all injures be sett a syd, having the weilfar of this realme affixed befor our eyis: And that thou sould grant the rather to my request, I forgive all vrongis done to me, and als sall repair all vrongis and offencis done be me, to thy pleasour and will. Attour, the king sall remaine in thy governance and keiping, quhill he cum to perfyte aige, becaus his faythir when he was a lyve, committed him to thy cure and charge. And as to my awin part, I desir nothing more bot ilk ane of us to love another heartilie as it becumes us to doe: and it becumes us to do sae that the nobilitie with the comounes of the realme, may sie and understand us to be faythfull governouris and ma-

gistratis of the same; punischeris of transgressouris and manteinaris of equitie and justice. The quhilk if we doe not, is bot deceit amongset ourselffis, regairding our awin privat wining, more nor the weillfair of the realme; then our geir and substance vanisch-ed away evir, ourselffis, wayffis, and bairnes put to wreak; and that which is worst of all, the king salbe in danger, and tint betuixt ws; his treasouris and riches cum to nought; and fnallie throw our prydefull vaine ambitione the realme salbe ane easie and facile prey to our enemies."

Whan the Governour had said, the Chancellour ansred in maner following.

"It is vnknawin to all the leidges of the realme, that I detested in all tymes bygane, all kind of seditioun and civill warres, setting my wholl intent and labouris to eschew the samyne efter my power; and as to this present discord newlie raised amongst ws, which is intendit throw prydfull and vaine ambitione, glaidlie with my heart wold it war slokined furth and sett a syd, that thair sould not be so much as ane spark or ony kind of memorie thair of in tymcuming: least it sould throw small occasione, raise and kindle greater hatred than evir was amongst ws. I knaw perfytlie, so

long as discord and latent hatred rignes amongest ws, thair sall nevir be riches nor grace in this realme, and thairfoir, I cannot refuse both the honorable and thankfull conditiones to my selff, and also nesessar for the weifare of the realme, and speciallie quhair they cum of frie will vncoacted or compelled. For I desir all menis amitie and freindschip, and speciallie of thame that ar governouris of the commounwealth. Yitt it is not decent that aither of ws decerne vpoun this matter, nor ye prescryve ane forme and faschione at the aggriment of this present discord. For it is contrair to all law and reasone, that any minister the law to himself: by that quhat-
evir the ane discerne, the other sal be discontent thairwith and plenzie, that the same was done, by all the headis and talking that was amongest ws necessar. Thairfoir, I think it is forme that sum prudent man equallie for ws both, quha favoures the commounwealth, be chosin of both the pairties, at whose arbitrement and sentence we sall repair all the offences bygane, with any other thing concerning the gouvernement of the countrie. For all men that hes any perfyte favour thairfor, will not onlie be cairfull for this counsall, and spend thair geir, bot also will wair thair

lyves to the advancement and weilfair of the same, and speciallie, they who ar placed aboue otheris, as ane perfyte example of administratione, equitie, and justice."

Thus, on this wayes, all thair friendis on both sydes that stood about, begane to extoll and love thame both, with great thanksgiving, that they both regairded the commounwealth so meikle, and preferred the same to all privat quarrellis and debaittes. Then both the parties war comprivat to thair oathis to stand at the sentence of the arbitratouris chosen be thame both, quha schortlie brought thame both to vnitie and concord, and finalie so friendlie confederat, that nevir any of them appeared to fail to a nother againe.

Schortlie thairefter thair was ane parliament sett at Edinburgh, to mak statutes for the repairing of the commounwealth to the auld estate. Att this parliament so many and innumerable complaintes was givin in, quhair of the lyk was nevir seine a befor. Thair was so many widowes, bairnes, and infantis, seiking redrese for thair husbandis, kine, and freindis, that war cruellie slaine be wicked murthereris, and sicklyk many for hirschip, thift, and murther, that it wold have pitied any man to have hard the samyne. Schortlie

thift and murther was cum in sick dalyance amongst the people, and the kingis actis cum in sick contempione, that no man knew quhair to seik refuge, vnlese he had sworne himselfe to sam commoun murther or bloodie tyrrant, to maintaine him contrair the invasion of otheris; or else had givin largelie of his gear to save his lyfe, and to give him peace and rest.

Quhen the lordis of parliament had consulted long tyme, and in quhat maner the offences could be a mendit and repaired; and als perceaved the earle Douglas to be the principall caus of these enormities; and, by reason of his riches, kine and freindis, they could not reprove his tyrranie be strenth nor might, thairfoir sent pleasant writingis to him, purposing to cutt him off be slight, subtiltie, and craft, requeisting right effectuouslie the said earle and his brother to cum in for the assistance of the commounwealth, quhilk without him, his kine and freindis, the commounwealth could not be goodlie rulled; for, since they had abstained from the rulling thair of, it was all near wraiked and cum to nought. Sick colloured and painted wordis they sent to this young gentlman to drave him in the snair, albeit they meined nothing more nor his death,

snare, and ruine. So this earle being groun on greedines to gather geir and conqueis glore and honour to himselfe, and namlie to his kine and freindis, notwithstanding no colloured wordes nor offence that nane sould presume againes him, and thought that nothing could be done without him, his kine and freindis. And als, vpoun the other pairt, vpoun the information of sum avaritious greidie creaturis and flatterreris, depending vpoun him, having regaird to their awin privat wining more nor to the magistrates fame and honour, he took purpose to obey the letteris, and to cum forward to the king at Edinburgh, accompanied with his brother David, whom he suffered nevir to pas from himselff, and other honest freindis, beleiving no falshood to chance him efterwardis, in respect of the heartie message that cam from the magistratis and lordis of parliament to him. When this earle was cuming forward in this wyse, the chancour, on sett purpose, rod furth to meet him, and, to remove all suspitione out of this earle's mynd, requested him verie earnestlie to ryd to Crichtoun with him, and to pas the tyme thair a day or tuo. To the quhilk the earle Douglas consented uerie glaidlie, and remained thair with his kine and freindis tuo dayes,

verie weill intertained. The chancellour swore be his great oath and holy sacrament, that thair was not ane nor other in Scotland, except the kingis majestie, that he favoured so weill as the earle Douglas, and wold esteime him from thence furth equall with the governour of the realme.

This young gentlman fostered with sick fair flatterie, was allured to pas to Edinburgh. The Chancellour, as he that had no privat deceit latent in his mynd, said with ane hairtie countenance in this maner. " Since sua it is the king hes given and granted large and great riches within this realme vnto your forbearis and yow, far aboue the puissance of otheris, your freindis and otheris, your neighbouris, I will exhort yow with my heart as him whose hous, kine, and friendis is more dear to me nor all the rest of Scotland, my awin except, to stand obedient to the kingis lawis and statutis, quhom it hath pleased the Almighty God to rigne abone ws at this tyme; and remember the high fortoun that yea ar promoted to: the great dependance of wassallis, and landis, and manrentis, with other gritt strength and power, quhilkis neidis not to be rekoned at this tyme, ar not cum to yow that yea sould be the more insolent thair of, think-

and thairby that yea sould opprese inferiouris, or yitt misken the magistratis appoynted be the pleasour of God, and consent of the nobilitie : bot rather if the king hes givin yow all thir forsaidis of his awin benevolence and pleasour, and abone all thingis, to defend the commonwealth, not regarding lyfe, landis, nor guidis, for mantaining of the same in peace and rest. Thairfoir, caus all enormities and crymes committed in tymes bygane to be refoundit and remeidit within your boundis, and suffer not the poore simple people to be overcum and reft with strong and mischeivous tyrrantis, nor stop no man to be brought to the kingis majestie, that is ane mischeivous trespassour or limmer, and be the contrair, to minister justice equallie within your boundis, as becumes yow, thairefter, not onlie to tholl vtheris vnpunished, bot also to cum with your strenth and forces, to bring all wicked boucheris and manifest oppressouris of the poore, to be judged and thoall condignlie, according to the lawis, vtherwayes it will redound to your great dishonoure, hurt, and schame, to the wreak and hirschip of your guidis and geir, and that, which is worst of all, to the vtter exterminatione of your hous, kine, and freindis : of the quhilkis since I favour yow so weill, I wold

not that yea war the author, nor yitt that yea sould blott the honorable factis of martiall deides, and the honour in civill governement, quhilk your forbeararis conquiest to your posteritie."

This young gentleman, of guid inclinacione, if he had beine weill accompaind, tuik the chancellouris admonitioun in guid pairt, promising to repair all thingis that he had comm-salled, and to obey and serve the kingis majestie with dew honour and reverence; but knew nothing of the chancellouris fraud and guyle, quho thought the realme sould be at greater tranquillitie, if the earle Douglas and his brother war cutted off suddenlie.

Thairefter, they cam to Edinburgh, without any vnderstanding quhat was devysed for thair distructione. Sum men judged nae guid to cum of that voyage, and that through frequent messages both cuming and goeing betwixt the governour and chancellour, and thairfor, gave counsall that none of thaim sould enter at that tyme within the castle of Edinburgh; or at the least, if he entred, best it war to send his brother David back againe home, and not to break thair fatheris counsall, wha inhibited thame, that they yeid never both togidder quhair thair was any appearance of

danger, least it should be the wreak of thame-selfis and houss. The earle gave no credence to sick conjecturis, saying, he had experience of the chancellouris and governouris lawteis in sick cases: and as to the chancellour, he had so treated and interteined him, that he could dread no falshood nor evill at his hand. Sick quyet rumour passed throw the wholl companie, that caused Sir David Douglas persuad the earle, his brother, to returne home againe; dreadand sum mischeife to fallow vpon that haistie freindschip. For the quhilk caus, the earle reproved his brother verie scharplie, saying it was not decent to him to give ear to such vaine vnhappie flattereris, quho evir was the occasioun and mischeife of all dissentioun amongst noblmen, so long as they had place, and thairfor, gave command with right scharp wordis, that no man in his companie should meane such ane thing, latt be to speak the same. Hear a notable and worthie caice; the nearer that a man be to perrill or mischeife, he runes more headlong thairto, and hes no grace to hear thame that gives thame any counsall to eschew the perrill. The earle Douglas being ane young gentleman of guid inclinatioun, wyser perchance than any other of equall aige, wold nevir give ear to his good

willeris and favoureris, nor yitt was he content with thame that gave him counsall to return homwardis againe, bot reproved thame highlie: quhairfoir sundrie noblemen with sad drearie and quyet countenance followed him, and durst not speak no further. It may be evill said of this man, albeit it wold, it could not preserve this man from distructione and ruine, and sua sternis continewallie provoken this man to his deid. But farder delay, spurred his hors and cam forwardis to Edinburgh, and entred within the castle, quhair, with fainzied and colloured countenance, he was received with gritt joy and blythnes, and banquetted royallie with all delicatis that could be gottin: and evir that he sould not have any suspitione of ony deceit to fallow thairvpoune. Than at the last manie of the earle's freindis being skailled aff the toun, and opportunitie servand, with adwyse and consent of the governour, quha came then of sett purpos to Edinburgh. Than the chancellour, efter the coursis war takin away from the dinner, presented ane bullis head befor the earle Douglas, quhilk was ane signe and token of condemnatorie to the dead. But this earle and his brother, beholding the manifold treasons, with sad myndis and drearie countenan-

ces, start up from the boord, and maid them to loup at any place they might gett out. But then fra hand ane companie of armed [men] rusched round about thame, quha breaking all kynd of law and hospitalitie, led thame out to the Castle hill, with Sir Malcolme Fleming of Cumbernald, and vtheris gentlmen, thair familiaris, and strak the headis from thame. This was done in the yeir of God 1448 yeires. It is said the king being bot ten yeires of age, grat verie sore quhan he saw the men of weir bind the earle's handis and his brotheris with cordis, and lamented verie heavilie; and prayed the chancellour for Godis sak to latt them allone and save thair lyves for ony plesour he wold desir of him: and thairfor, the chancellour boasted the king verie scharplie, saying, it was not for no privie hatred that he buir to the earle Douglas, or his favoureris or frleindis, that he sould thoall the deid that day according to his deservingis; bot becaus he was ane plaine enemy to the kingis awin persone, and ane manifest tratour to the commonwealth, and so long as they war on lyffe, the realme wold nevir be at peace and rest, but that if he war cutted off, the realme sould be at greater tranquillitie. Than fra hand,

without any ruth or pitie, thir gentleman war hurled furth as said is.

From thence forth the realme was quyeter for ane certaine tyme, nor it was befor, albeit not long. Efter this, his vncle succceeded James, his father brother to Williame earl of Annerdaill, Lord Balveny, quho was called grose James, becaus of his stature: for this Williame had no bairnes of his bodie, nor brother to succeid to him. This James was the sewinth earle of Douglas, and was no les hated of the leidges nor his predecessouris war: becaus schortlie after hirschip and slauchter tang als fast in his dayes, and speciallie within the boundis, as evir it did a befoir. Not that he manteined any theifis or murtheris, bot that he punished thame not: for he thought to excuse himselff with his grounnes and inhabilitie of bodie. Otheris thought, that although he had nevir rissin out of his bed, he sould have had such men about him at his command, as sould have suppressed all oppression within his boundis. Bot he leived not long, for he deceased in Abercorne, the third yeir efter he was maid earle. This James had sewin sones, to whom the eldest succedit be the tailzie of the landis of the earldome of Douglas. Bot that the landis

that war tailzied fell in heritage to ane sister of the said Williames, the landis of Galloway ; and thairfor shoe was called the fair maidin of Galloway. Thair fell also to hir, Wigtone, Annerdaill, Balvenie, and Ormond. And it is to be vnderstood that this James, called grose James, followand the inclinatioun of many otheris to conqueis greater rentis to his posteritie nor he had himselff: thinking it was wickednes to denud the old heritage of ane hous ; and be the contrair it was wisdom to apply the dominiones left by the forbearis, and thairfor to compyll all thir landis forsaidis in ane togidder: and to this effect procured the Pope's dispensation to marie his eldest sone upon his brotheris dochter, sister to the said vmquhill Williame. Be this caus but doubt the wholl landis sould be vnited in one. Yitt notwithstanding the rest of the Douglas kinrid thinkand the mariage to be vnleisum, as they thought ; that over gritt riches, and landis over lairge, was odious vnder ane king, quhilk within schort quhill sould be exterminatioun to the surname, and rooting out perpetuallie of the hous. The principall of the Douglassis that diswaded this mariage and annexatioun of the landis, was the earle of Angus, and Sir John Douglas of Dalkeith, knyght;

both discendit out of the earle of Douglas hous.

When ane hes over meikle, aither it provockis the possessouris thair of, to attempt sum ungodlie purpose, or els for ane licht cryme or suspitione, that the kingis or princes takis of thame, sometymes that they are brought to vtter distruction and confusione. Bot this James, called grose James, was nothing moved at these wordis, and als vnderstanding that the king him selfe was to put inhibitione to this marriage betuixt his sone and his brotheris dochter, he haisted the same with greater diligence, not spairing tyme forbiddin, as was the vse than, and caused solemnize the band of matrimonie. Quhairfor the people, moved with scrupilositie, judged and said that that marriage could nevir be prosperous nor happie, quhilk was of treuth, and the people not beguylled of this opinion.

Many nighbouris feidis arraise on everie pairt, and that the rather be the said Williame sone to the said James, or els be his assistouris, and namlie throw Jon Cormak ane Atholl man, ane of the principall sworne tyrantis to the earle Douglas; quha with ane companie of bloodie tyrantis, sett vpon Sir Williame Ruthven of that ilk, scheriff principall of Pearth;

to have slaine himselff, and rest ane brigant theife of Atholl, fra the kingis justice, whom the schirreff wold have justified. Bot this Sir William Ruthven sieing the danger cuming sua suddenlie vpoun him, was meikle abased, and prayed his freindis and gentlmen that war with him for the tyme, to tak guid part with him, and not to thoall thamselffis to be murdered with ane number of vniversall theifis. And it was so long foughtin with doubtsum chance, quhill at the last the schrefe was victour, and Jon Cormak with threttie of his men manfullie slaine vpoun midsummer day 144 [3] yeires.

Schort quhill after this, thair followed ane other combat at Dumbartone, to no les danger of the countrie than the other. Robert Semple and Patrick Calbraith, députes to the kingis selff, (quha then was fourteine yeires of aige, having the government of the realme in his awin handis,) to keip the castle of Dumbartane as principall, begane to stryve among thamselffis, quhilk of thame sould be principall captane thairof, and when they could not aggrie in wordis, they pulled out swordis and fought richt cruellie, quhill at the last Robert Sempill was slaine; and that Patrick Calbraith being verie familiar with the earle Douglas, took the Castle in keeping without

any delay. The earle Douglas begane to muse vpoun this slauchter how that he was judged to be principall mover of both the combattis, through all the realme and court, thinkand that thair could cum na guid of thir thingis, at leist when the king came to perfytt aige, if he a mendit not in tyme. Thairfoir tuik purpos to pas to the king in Stirling, to get ane remissioun of all thingis, and begane to leive ane better lyfe in tymes cuming. Sna being accompanied with a number of folkis, past to the king in Stirling : and than at the first incuming fell vpoun his knies and put himselff and all that he had in the kingis will, desiring remissioun of faultis committed be him, and that he might have licence to awaitt vpoun his majestie, bot as the soberest courteour in his grace's companie, quhilk if he wold doe of his gracious mercie, he promised to be als serviceable as any man within the realme, and als swore the great oath that he sould persue all theifis and brigantis to the vttermost of his power. The king with great humanitie of this noblman offerrand himselffe willinglie in his handis, not onlie remitted him of all his offencis, bot also maid him principall of his secreit counsall, and vsed him most familiar of any man.

Thairefter ane lang tyme, this Williame be-

ing familiar with the king, bare himselfe verie pleasantlie to everie man, and did nothing bot that which appeired to everie man to be weill done for the weillfare of the country ; so, creip- and peace and peace into the kingis conceitt, tarried vpoun opportunitie of tyme to be a venged vpoun his enemies, and namlie vpoun Sir Williame Crichtoun, chancellour, quha so mischantlie had put down his eame Williame, earle of Douglas, and his brother ; quhill the earle appeased his anger on this wyse. The chancellour persavand that he was highlie offendit at him, he denudit him selff of the chancellarie, and past his way with his awin kine and freindis to Edinburgh, thinking he might most easilie, being in the Castle, eschew the dangeris and injuries that the earle Douglas was prepareand for him; and furnished the castle with munitione, men, and victualle, stronglie. It is to be vnderstood, that not this gentlman him allone feared the earle Douglas, bot also the governour, dread- and him in the same maner, denuidit himselff of all offices that he baire a befor, except the keiping of the Castle of Stirling, and depairtit haistilie aff of court. Then the earle Douglas, be whois moyane and convoy all the court was guydit, thought he had sufficient tyme.

and opportunitie to revehge all injures done to his freindis a befoir, caused sumbnd Sir Williame Crichtoun, sumtyme chancellour, and Alexander Levingstoun, sumtyme gouvernour, with his two sones, Alexander and Sir James, knightis, all be ane herald, to vnderly the law for sick crymes as the kingis majestie had to ly to thair charge, with certificatioun and they compeired not, they sould be denunciit as traitouris to his hienes borne. Besydis this, he thought if they compeired he sould gett his will of thame. Thir noblmen being sumondit as said is, wreat againe ane answer to the kyng, devysed be all thair consentis, saying, " that thair was nothing more dear to thame nor the weillfare of the kingis persone and stabilitie of the realme, readie with sick obedience and service as becometh subjectis to doe to thair prince, bot, becaus they knew thair deadlie enemies who rulled the court, workand all to thair confusione, lyk to obtaine his intent pairtlie through the great favour that the king bure to the earle Douglas, and pairtlie through his great puissance, that they sould be overthrowne if the same; thairfoir it was expedient for thame to give place and flie the furie of thair enemies quhill all injuries war sett a syd and at rest, and the

commonweill in tranquillitie, and then they could doe sick honour and reverence as became thame dewlie for the weillfare of this realme. For it was verie vnliklie to thame to committ thamselvis to the present danger, quhilk they knew perfytlie to cum; and at-tour, although it was the kingis commandement and chaarge, it was thought unworthie that manteinaris of theifis and brigantis should have beine surrogat in thair places, wha war constitute in thame be the nobilitie of the realme and be the voces of lordis of parliament, and rulled the same with the favour of all guid favouraris of the commonweill, be the counsall of potent and ambitious tyrantis, labourand day by day to promoue ill mischeivous tyrantis to dignitie and honour, to the heavie dampnage of the commonweill, and dreadful terror of the kingis leidges of the realme."

The earle Douglas perceaved thair high contemptioun of his auctoritie; he caused to proclame ane parliament to be holdin att Stirling, quhair the saidis persones war forfait and denounced tratouris and rebellis to the horne, and gave chaarge to [Sir John] Forrester of Corstorphine, to inbring all thair moveables to the kingis vse, quhilkis war escheit. Ef-

ter this all men war chairged to pas forward with displayed baner, be opine proclamatiouns, to invaid thir men as commoun enemies to the croun; and so ane armie of men being gathered, they seidged the Castle of Brankstoun in Lothiane, quhilk was rendred fra hand, so soone as they saw the kingis standart: and the men war lattin furth frie, with bag and baggage, and the castle castin down to the ground.

To revenge thir injuries, Sir Williame Crichtoun gathered ane armie of his kine and freindis, and first he brunt the haill landis of Corstorphine, and carried away the guidis and geir that might be gotten, and thairefter invaidit the earle Douglas landis with fire and sword, and brunt all the corne and corneyairdis, villages and tounes. But the earle Douglas perceaved the chancellour to be boustred vp with his freindis to his heaveie dampnage and skaith, amongst whom he suspected principall, James Kennedie, bischop of Sanct Androis, sister-sonne to King James the First, and thairefter send wryttingis to the earle Crawfoord and Alexander Ogilbie of Inverquhairtie, tua speciall freindis, courteouris, to mak hirschip vpoun the bischopis landis, and if they might apprehend himself, to keip

him quick in prisone within yrones quhill farther advertisement. This chaarge they fulfilled, and hirried not onlie the bischopes landis, bot also the haill landis adjacent thairto, and broucht great preyis of guidis out of Fyffe into Angus. As to the bischop, he contened himselff in safe gaird, thinking it becam him not to be ane fighter: Bot that he thought it expedient to vse his awin auctoritie vpoun sick as inuidit him, as said is; and thairfoir summondit the earle of Crawfoord, and laid vpoun him ane sentence of cursing for his contempstione of the censur of holy kirk, quhilk the earle highlie vilipendit, as a thing of no strenth, without dread either of God or man. Bot lang efter, when the earle was labourand verie diligentlie to conciliat his sone and Alexander Ogilbie forsaid, to the old freindschip keipit betueine thair freindis befoir, he was slaine, as sal be shawne heirefter. His sone, Alexander Lindsay, succeidit. This discord, quhilk fell betweine thame for ane meane bailiarie of Arebroath, quhilk pertaint to Alexander Lindsay; bot Alexander Ogilbie, quhidder it came of his awin ambitione, or if it was the abbottis pleasour, it is not certane, vsurped the bailiarie to himselfe, and put this Alexander fra the same. Quhairfoir,

being robbed of his ryght, he gathered ane companie of his freindes, and speciallie the Hamiltones, quho assisted him for the tyme, and tuik the way, thinkand he sould debaite be strenth quhilk he could not doe be law. Alexander Ogilbie, on the other syd, gathered ane great companie of men, amongst whom it happened Alexander, earle of Huntlie, to be for the tyme, and cam forwardis with displayed banner, and arrayed battell, vnto Arbroth, to tak the same be force. Quhilk being schowin to the earle of Crawfoord, being in Dundie for the tyme lying, to stop all mischeife that might befall his freindis, he cam postand to thame in all haist. Scantlie was he cum to thame, when both the armies was joyned, and almost choked togidder. Yet he stopped his sone, Alexander, to mak any onsett, and, when he was cuming in proper persone to Alexander Ogilvie's folkis, to tak ane freindly intercommound with all debaites betuixt his sone and thame, ane souldiour, not knawing quhat he was, nor quhairfoir he came, strack him in at the mouth with ane spear, and out at the neck, and sua incontinent he died in ane guid actione, labourand to put Christiane men to peace, conqueist great comendatioun of all men, albeit he was

verrie insolent all the rest of his lyfetyne. Quhilk, when his sone and freindis beheld, they war so enraged, that they suddenlie rushed vpoun thair enemies with gritt ire. Bot they, vpoun the other syd, resisted the preas, and held aff thair adversaries richt manfullie for a long quhyll. For, at the last, the laird of Inverquharitie, principall, was deidlie woundit, and ane great pairt of his valiant men, in the throatt of the batle, war slaine. They gave back, and many of them, in the fleing, war slaine; amongis whom, John Forbes of Pit-sligo, Alexander Barclay of Gartley, James Maxwell of Teilling, Duncane Campbell of Campbellfeather, and Williame Gordoun of Borrowfeild, all barounes, with diverss otheris gentlemen. And thair was ane hunder slaine vpoun the other syd. To witt, the earle Huntlie, being destitute of his folkis in this maner, horsed him selfe, and fled a way to the hous of Inverquarritie to saife his lyfe, and was takin and brought living to Phenevin, quhair he died within schort whyll thairefter. The gentlemen war than honorablie buried in the kirk yaird. This battell was strickin in the yeir of God 1445 yeires.

Efter this thair followed nothing but slaughter in this realme. In everie pairt ilk ane laid

wait for otheris, as they had been settand themselfis for slauchter of wyld beastis. Amongist whom Robert Boyd of Duchall, captane of Dumbartane, lay in waitt for Sir James Stewart of Auchinto, quho was but sixteine men in traine, and schortlie, or evir James Stewart had tryell that onie man vnbesett. his gaitt, ane companie of armed men rasched round about him, and slew him cruellie a litle from Kirkpatrick ; and thairefter fra hand tuik his wayff out of hir awin hous, and brought hir captive to Dumbartone : whasailie promised that shoe sould get na skaith. Bot when shoe perceived hir selff mocked in this maner, through high displeasour of hir husbandis slauchter, shoe pairted tymouslie of ane dead bairne, and died hir selfe the thrid day thairefter.

Efter this Archibald Dumbar seidged the castle of Hailis in Lothiane, and at the first assault he wan the same, and slew thame that he found thairin. Schortlie efter he was seidged be James Douglas, in whoise will he pat himselff, and the castle, bot fardder debaitt. Innumerable slauchteris war this yeir in Annerdaill, quhair the people war (and yitt ar) givin to murther and slauchter. Schortlie mischeife rang so commoun in all pairtis, that

manie gentlemen of the realme, sieing thair was no regaird of the king, nor the earle Douglas' forces, wha was principall guyder of the court, contened thamselffis in strong holdis and fortressis, and thair freindis, and left thair guidis that might not be keiped within ane strenth to theifis and riveris to tak thame as they pleased: thinkand if they saifed thamselffis, they had sufficient till ane better fortoun.

In the nixt yeir, the king, be the earle Douglas counsall, seidged the Castle of Edinburgh nyne monthis togidder: but at the last Sir Williame Crichtoun renderit the castle vpoun thir conditiones. That he and all that assisted him sould have ane frie remis-sioun for all offences bygane, and he himselffe to be reconceiled to the kingis favouris, after the old manner, as said is. And it was reformed againe of new better nor it was befoir.

Soone thairefter, ane Parliament was sett, to be holdin at Pearth, to consult vpoun all thingis perteaning to the commounweill; in the quhilk Sir Williame Crichtoun was receiv-ed againe to the kingis favouris, and maid chancellour againe of new, be consent of the wholl nobilitie and parliament. Yitt he mel-led him not with no public affaires, bot baid ane better tyme, quhill he sould have beine.

purged be ane assyse, for all kind of suspitione concerning the kingis majestie. The same yeir Sir James Stewart, knyght, that married the kingis mother, was banished becaus he spak sumtymes raschlie, that the realme was evill guided, quhilk redoundit to the defamatioun of the earle Douglas. This Sir James Stewart, within schort quhill thairefter, was taken vpoun the sea be the Flemingis, with sum earles both of Scotland and Ingland, and led captive to Flanderis, quhair he died within schort whyll thairefter; and als his wayff, being king James the Secondis mother, hearand of hir husbandis death, died and was buried in the Charterhous of St Jonstoun, besyd hir first husband, king James the First, to whom shoe buire aucht bairnes, of the quhilk is thair was tuo sones, viz. king James the Second, the other called Alexander, quha died an infant: and six dochteris, all honorablie married. Albeit thair followed not great succession of thame. The first called Margaret, wha was married vpoun the Dolphine of France, called Lues the Eleventh: the second Dame Heleine, married vpoun the Duck of Bartainzie: the third vpoun the Lord Camphear, and thairefter vpoun : the fourth vpoun the Duck of Auchstrich, and thair-

efter vpoun the : the fyft vpoun
 the earle of Huntie, called George, to whom
 shoe bure ane dochter, and thairefter paired
 with him, be the king hir brotheris consent:
 and thairefter the said George, married the
 earle Errollis dochter, of whom cam earle
 Alexander: earle Adame of Sutherland, and
 diveris vtheris; and the sixt married vpoun the
 earle Mortoun. The queine bure to Sir James
 Stewart thrie sones; John quho was maid earle
 of Atholl, James, earle of Buchane, called
 earle James; the third Andro, bischop of Mur-
 ray.

Schort quhill thairefter, Sir Williame Cricht-
 toun, chancellour, be convoy of Carolus the
 Sewint, king of France, was sent to spous
 Margaret, the duke of Gildares dochter, to be
 brocht home to wayff to king James the Se-
 cond. The gentlwoman was grantit frielie,
 and honorablie convoyed be the lord Cam-
 pheir: the marquis of Beigie, earle of Nassou,
 the bischopis Camri and Levergie. Attour thair
 came ane prince of Rauestoun, with otheris
 diverss noble knyghtis and squyris. The ma-
 riage being solemnized, thair was ane parlia-
 ment holdin at Edinburgh: in the quhilk, be
 the counsall of sum ambitious flattereris, Sir
 Alexander Livingstoun, sumtyme governour,

Alexander Livingstoun, his eldest sone, Robert Livingstoun, sumtyme thesaurer, and David Livingstoun, both discendit out of the hous of Callendar, James Dundas, and Robert Bruce of Clackmanane, knightis, war takin. Albeit they war takin, they war reconceilled to the kingis majestie, and had to divers places and imprisoned, and all the lordis of parliament requested him to relax thame. Yitt for the high hatred the courteouris had conceived againes thame, they war keiped in prisone contrair to all law and reasone, quhill the sewint day of December: Then they war brought to Edinburgh, and thair Alexander Levingstoun, sumtyme governour, James Dundas, and Robert Bruce, payed gritt sowmes of money, and thairefter, war wairded in Dumbartone, and the rest was headed. It is said, that this Alexander, when he was vpoun the scaffold, turned him to the people, and maid ane gritt oratione, deplorand the mutabilitie of fortoun; exorting all gentlmen and nobles of the realme to tak example be him of the fragill facilitie of the world. Att sumtyme, he was ane man of singular guid witt and prudence. His father was chosin governour of the realme, and quhair he buire himself freindis and chairges so prosperouslie, with

so great commendatione of all men, that his father loved him above all thingis. But yitt, through change of court, it was force to draw themselfis to strenthis for the defence of thair lyffes, and preservatione of thameselfis to better fortoun; quhill at the last thair innocencie was tryed: They war reconceilled to the kingis favour, quhilk indured not long: for schort tyme thairefter, be the fals suggestione of flatterand courteouris, they war wairded againe: Now, his father wairdit, himselfe not adjudged be neutrall men of [sincere] good conscience, bot be his deadlie enemies, to vnderly ane schamfull dead, as he had beine ane traitour: and thairfor, desired all noblmen not to desir great offices in court, alheit they did appear to be both honour and commoditie, for they that are promoved, to great offices when they slyd, they gett the sairest fall, and when they ar put down, if they be loved on the one part be guid men, for thair worthie behaviour; the salbe reproached vpon the other ayd be wicked men. Thir wordis being said, he fell down vpoun his knees, and streched out his craige to the sword; ane lamentable sight to behold, to the displeasour of the people.

The yeir efter, the quene paired with bairne, bot nane knew by quhat meane. The

bairne was borne quick, and died shortly thereafter. In the same year, the royall walles being castin down, thair was the bodie of ane young chylde found in ane heap of leid, vompled vp in sandill, als fresch and vncorrupted, and alsweill in cullour as the first hour it was buried. This was judged of thame, that had curiositie of old antiquities, to be the sone of Queine Margaret, quene decest in his infancie.

Attour, the peace and trowis taine with England, expyred the same year, and thairfor, the Scottis maid sundrie incursions and raides in England, waistand all with fyre and sword quhair ever they came. The earle of Shrewsberrie being wairdin and leivtennent for the tyme vpoun the Inglisch bordouris, to revenge thir injuries, invaidit Scotland againe vpoun the west border on the ane pairt, and brunt Drumfries, with manie other townes, and returned home againe with great preys of guidis. And als the earle of Northumberland, for his pairt, cam vpoun the east borderis, and brunt Dumbar, and hirried it. This same year, George Douglas, not willing to be in ane Inglisch manes commoun for ane evill turne, gathered ane companie of chosin men, and brunt Annick: out of the quhilk, he gathered

ane great préy both of men and guides or evir he returned againe in Scotland. Bot prisoneris of both the realmes war changed and rendret againe, man for man, on both sydis. Sick hirschip was maid at this tyme on both the sydis, that both the realmes war constrained to tak peace for sewin yeires to cum.

In the meantyme, when sick things war in doing, the earle Douglas having the hail guyding of the court, laboured daylie to promote his friendis to honour and dignitie, obtained fra the king the marriage of [Agnes] Dumban, youngest dochter to James, earl of Murray, to Archibald Douglas, his brother, and sua maid him earle of Murray. This James deceased bot any aires maill of his bodie, and sua the landis came to female be devocation of the king. This Willame, earle of Douglas, not content of this augmentation to his hous, promoted James, his brother, to the lordschip of Balvennie, and George Douglas to the earldome of Ormond, in parliament, quho was also declaired, and chosin principall counsallouris of the realme. But sundrie suspected that this suddene promotione to so great dignitie, sould schortlie have ane decay, for they saw the earle Douglas so covetous, givin to

mak vp his friendis, and so inordinat to promote thame to lordschipis and landis for the strenth of his awin hous : quhairthrow suddenlie thought to mak ane barre to the king himselffe, if thair chanced any alter of court. And thairfoir, everie man judged that sudden and prosperous success sould not long continue.

Bot now, since it hes chanced ws to speak of the translatioun of the hous of Murray fra the Dumbaris to the Douglassis, it is expedient to speak of the diversitie of surnames that vsed the same with great laud and praise, since king Robert the Bruce, the first of that name, evin vnto this present tyme; who bure thameselfis both in peace and warre richtwyslie and manfullie at all tymes.

Robert Bruce gave the earledome of Murray to his awin sister sone, Sir Thomas Randell of Strathdoun, knyght, cheife of the Clan Allane, whose workis can testifie of his lyfe, in the fourteinth book, rehearsit befoir of the same historie; and failzieand him and aires of his bodie, that it sould returne againe to the croun. This Thomas had tuo sones; bot cannot tell quho was thair mother: the eldest named Thomas, quho succeded to his fatheris place. The other called John, quho bot any

successioun of thair bodies, was both slaine at the battle of Dumblane, in Stratherne, fight- and manfullie to the dead, for defence of this realme, inuidit be the Inglischmen, our old enemies. He had also dochteris: The oldest was called Blak Annas, be reasoun of hir skine. This Annas was ane woman of gritt spirit, more nor came ane woman to be; quho was married vpoun Patrick, earle of Merch. The second was called Jeall, and was married vpoun Johne, brother to the earle of Merch, and bure to him George, quho succeidit to his fatheris brother heritable to the earldome of Merch. Ane other sone called John, ane man of singular bewtie and vertew. This John, for his vertew and manheid, was married vpoun king Robertis second dochter, and was promoted to the earldome of Murray; for it returned againe to the kingis hous, be reasoun that it failed in the aires maill of Sir Thomas Randell, and this was the fyft of the Dumbaris that bruikit the landis of Murray; quho begat Thomas Dumbar, quho succeidit to his father, and ane other called Alexander Dumbar, quho married Maipd Fraiser, heretrix of Frendraucht. This forsaid earle Thomas had ane sone called Thomas, the fyft of that name and surname, quho died

without aires of his bodie : and so James, sone to Alexander, his father brother, gottin vpoun Mauld Fraiser, succeidit in his place ; and this was the sixt Dumbar, earle of Murray, quho was also laird of Frendraucht. This James begatt, vpoun Issobell Innes, dochter to the laird of Innes, Alexander Dumbar, ane man of singular vertew and courage: This Issobell was bot handfasted with him and deceased befor the marriage, quhairthrow this Alexander was worth ane better living nor might succeid to him be the lawis of the countrie. Efter this Issobellis deceas, this James, earle of Murray, married Kathherine, dochter laifull to Alexander Seaton, as is supposed, the first earle of Huntlie, called Gordoun, quho bure to him ane dochter, the quhilk was married vpoun Sir William Crichtoun, air to the lord Crichtoun foresaid : and gott with hir the lairdship of Frendraucht into tocher. The youngest was married vpoun Archibald Douglas, quho was promoted to the earledome of Murray, as said is. Bot this Archibald being convict and forfait for les majestie, the earledome returned to the kingis handis againe.

But latt us retorne to our purpos and historie quhair we left. This Williame, earle Dou-

glas, being so insolent through the high promotion, begane to manteane so many as war plaine flattereris, and awowed his doingis, and war readie at his command to execute sick mischiefe as was his pleasour. He promoted tham, yea, many of them from meane estat to gritt riches, aboue thair degries. Bot quhat soevir he was so hardie to reproach his doingis, for it gainstood many menis consciences, howsoone it came to his eares, he caused thame to vnderly the law, quhair he being judge and pairtie, spoilzied thame sakleslie of thair lyves. Be the contrair, so many as dependit vpoun him, albeit they had beine nevir so guyltie, they war overseine, or elis he gave thame fair respettis and remissiounes of all thair offences; quhairthrow they being bendit vp with sick licentious prerogatives aboue otheris, they set no difference betuixt richt and vrong, oppressioun, ravisching of vomen, theft, sacraledge, and all other kynd of mischiefe, was bot ane daliance, so that it was lesum to any defender vpoun ane Douglas to slay or murthir, for thair name was so feared to everie innocent man, that when any mischeivous limmer was apprehendit for ane cryme, no man durst produce them to the kingis justice, if they alleged that they slew ane Dou-

glas tenant or wassal. Through this vnequall punishing of innocentis, and great favour that he bure to tyrantis and malefactoris, everie man begane to hat his tyrannie and crueltie, for he regairded no man, nor of the love and favour of the people, bot he glored to be dred of all men; to theife and traytour he was ane sicker targe, and be the contrair, ane plaine enemy to good men, thinking it was ane great pleasour to spoyle thame of thair lyves, and weil win to hirrie thame of thair goodis and geir, and not onlie spoiled thame of thair places and slew thair freindis, quhom he favoured not, without all equitie of law, bot also spoiled kirkis and chappellis quhairevir he cam, and committed the jewellis thair of to his prophane vse and proffit. So all good men behoved to keip silence, and not to cry out vpoun his tyrannie.

Att this tyme James Kennedie, bischop of Sanct Androis was ane man of singular vertew and verie guid lyffe, held himselff quyet, waiting vpoun ane better fortoun, thinking that it was follie to stryve against the streame, having great hope, that no gritt crueltie, that was so exercised, sould bot have ane sudden end.

In this meane tyme fell ane horrible cace to John Cameron bischop of Glasgow, principall rueller of the prince, and his ruellaris; and to all mischeiffe and innocent slauchter, done in thir troublous tymes, ane marvellous example to all mortall man, to withdrave thameselffis from all vicked counsall, abuse, and vicked tyfannie. For he caused thame to exerce oppressioun vpoun the realme, as he had done himselff vpoun the poore tennentis of Glasgow; sua that quhen the power divyne of God had permitted him to scourge and overune the people on this wayes, for ane certain space, he thought to put ane end to his tyrannie. At last, vpoun Ytill evin, quhen he was lying sleiping in his bed, thair cam on thundering voyce out of heavin, crying and summing him to the extreame judgment of God, quhatt he sould give an account of all his cruell offences, bot ony fardder delay. Throw this he vakened out of his sleip, and tuik great fear of this noviltie. Bott yitt he believed it to be nothing bot ane yerie dreame, and no trew vairneing, for the amendement of his vicked lyfe; yitt he called for his chamber boy, and caused him to light candlos, and to remaine ane whyll besyd him, till he had recovered the fear and dreadout that he had ta-

kin in his sleip. Be he had weill takin ane book and red ane little space thairupoun, the same voyce and wordis war heard with no lese fear and dreadour than befoir, quhilk maid thame affrayed that war about him for the present: so that non of thame had ane word to speak to another; thinkand no lese than suddene mischeife to befall tham all. And frae hand the same voyce and wordis war more vgsumlie hard cry nor befoir. The bischop renderit the spirit haistilie at the pleasour of God, and schew out his tongue most vyldlie as he had beine hanged vpoun ane gallous. Ane terrible sight to all murtheraris and oppressouris of the poore. Bot alase the wicked mynd of men, boldin with all conceived malice, dreadis nevir the terrible judgment of God, nor the good and godlie men ceass nevir to imbrace his good and godlie merceis. Bot to our historie.

Albeit the realme of Scotland was troubled and afflicted in this maner, yitt the realme of Ingland stood in no better state nor their nightbouris did: for Hendrie the Sixt being bot ane bairne of six yeires of aige, crouned of France and Ingland, thair fell ane discord betuixt the Burgones and the Inglischmen, oppressand France, with warre, fyre, and sword, arysing throw the slauchter of the

earle of Sarrisberrie, who was slaine be the shott of ane gune, vncertaine by quhom. This slauchter and discord was verrie pleasant and profitable to the Frenchmen, who was govern- ed and rulled in warres be ane voman of excellent spirit, called the maiden of France: for at this tyme they began to be better of courage, and recover monie of the landis quhilkis the Inglischmen had reft from thame befor, and not onlie triumphed they againes thame, that is to say againes the Inglismen, bot also became victorious againes quhatsum- evir people or natioun they had debaitt or quarrell. Bot the Inglismen, thinking to augment thair strenth, be ane new alliance and affinitie, married this young king Hendrie the Sixt, vpoun the Duke of Lorance dochter, and lightlied the honorabell mariage of the duk of Orange dochter, quha was promised to him in marriage a befoir. Sua in contracting of new freindschip, the losed the old, quhairat the duik of Orange tuik sick hatred and indigna- tioun, that with nobles, freindis, and familiaris, he left the Inglischmen, and gave over the band betuixt thame, and thairfoir, fra hand as the vnfortunat chance of worldlie affaires be- fallis, that mischeife followis mischeife, thair araise seditoun and marvellous discord in Ing-

land, amongst thaimselfis; for monie of the nobles invyed the governance and impyre of the duik of Glocester, quho was chosin protectour of Ingland, induring the kingis minoritye, gathered ane conventioun, quhair they taik him and put him in prisone for that night, and hanged him vpon the morne thairefter, as if he had been ane commoun theife. The principall mover of this mischiefe was the duik of Buckingham, the earle of Bewmont, and the constable of Ingland. Bot how soone this vyle act was devulgat throw the realme, the duik of Gloucester's kine and freindis gathred and inyaidit all pairtes with fire and sword, quhair throw the earle of Bedford, Somersaitt, and Shrewisberrie, quho being destitute of the defence of Normandie; to gainstand thair enemies in France; and being destitute of thair freindis and kinsmen, quho war in France and Ingland, war compelled to withdraw thaimselvis homeward. And so they lost the noble toun of Rowane, with manie other guid townes in Normandie.

How soone thir novellis war spread in Ingland, the commouns in Ingland with no lese mischiefe nor the rest, cheised thame ane Irland man to be thair chiftane, and then cam fordward purposing to cum to London, boast-

ing right highlie to be avenged vpoun the nobles of the realme. The king being directed sum gaitt in so gritt an variance, gathered ane armie of all kynd of people, and send thame forth to repres the proudnes of the commounthes; vpoun quhom the commounes rusched so rudlie and furiously, that they vanquished thame with small difficultie. Efter passed to London, quhair they desyred sum speciall courtiouris to be rendrit [in] thair handis, and spéciallie the Lord Gray thesaurer, the bischope of Salisbetrie, and the Lord Dudlie. Sua thir men war givin to thame to dispoone at thair pleasour, thinking that throw the sacrifice of those menis lyves, all the rest might eschew the présent danger. Bot thir commounes war suffered with the slaughter of the lord Gray. Thairefter they wairdit the rest in strong wairdes and fortalices. Bot als soone as the lord Gray was execute, they begane to spoyll the toun, and slew all the citizenes, bot ruth or pitie, that maid any defetice for thair gear. This and such lyk crueltie maid the governour of Ingland astonished, thinkand that if they gott not remeid haistilie thairto, thir commounes sould overrun thame as they done the rest. Efter long consultation, they caused the chancellour wryt

to the commounes and thair captaine, to stay and skail their armie, quhill if they stanchid thair vproare, they promissid thame frie remissioun of all byganes and offences, and to promove Hendrie thair captaine to great honour and dignitie. The people war soone allured, be the fair and pleasant wordis, who, when the high furie oppressed thame, they desired to have beine at home, willing to rid thamselvis of sick cumberis and enormities as they had entred in a befoir. Sua Hendrie thair captane being left be thame, for whoise caus he attempted so high presumptioun; he was takin and beheaded for his temerarious interpryse: and his taker got ane thousand pund sterling for his rewaird. Then the nobles sieing that so long peace had ingendered so grit riches amonges the commounes, quhairthrow they became so proud and insolent, that they perturbed the countrie in this wyse. Efter long consultatioun, they thought nothing better nor to wreak thame with extreame warres, quhairthrow they begane to gar Humber, Cumber, and Northumberland to provock warres.

It has beine the vse of this Ille of Brittain, since it was inhabited aither be Scottis or Inglishmen, that when evir they had warres with

thair enemies, they could never be sae easie dravin fra all civill discord : and be the contrair, being at dissentioun amongst thaimselfis, they were compelled to desist thairfra be moveing of extreame warres. So the Inglismen as said is invadit the borderis both with fire and sword ; and hirried and tuik gritt preyis, both of men and guidis ; and so manie Scottismen as maid defence to thair invasioun, war cruëllie slanie.

The Scottis men knowing weill the intentioun of the Inglismen, and quhat counsall was maid be thame was brokin, and also the occasioun quhairthrow the warres begane : to revenge thir injuries done to thame, they gathered ane great armie of men, and in the same maner invaided Ingland, burnand and slayand quhairvir they cam, and returned home againe with great preyis both of men and guidis. So the countrie being invadit on this maner on aither syd, and deadlie troubled with slauchter and hirschip, as said is ; the landis of Cumber was allutterlie waisted and destroyed ; for the Scottismen invadit that countrie with greatest crueltie, by resoun they war the first provokeris of warres and battell. But how soon this was schowin to the nobles of Ingland, they gathered ane armie of fourtie thou-

send men, and send thame to invaid Scotland with greater expedition nor was beleived. Thair chiftane and lieutenent of the armie was the earle of Northumberland, and Magnus Rid, knyght of the ordour of the garter; quho was brocht up in his youthhead in the warres of France: and thairfor, had so great knowledge and experience of warres and warlick affaires, and als illustrat with sick manhood, that he was called the Inglismenes father in the warres, who was called be the Scottismen Magnus with the rid navie. It is said that this man had sick indignation at the Scottismen, that he desired in ane great wraith and anger of king Harie, als meikle of Scottis ground as he might conquieis in Scotland, be the inhabitants thair of, and expelling of thame: quhilk was granted him.

In this meane tyme, the Scottismen war richt diligent to prepair all sick thingis as war necessar for thair releife: to quhom George Douglas, earle of Ormond, was maid leivetenent, quho gott knowledge be exploratouris, that the Inglismen war cum in Annerdaill, and had transported thair armie over the water of Sulvey, and had stented thair pallones on the watter of Sark; after they war camped on this wyse, vpoun the morrie efter

they had passed throw the countrie, and hurried and slew quhom evir they fand. Bot knowand that the Scottis armie was approach- and so near thame, they tuik great fear, and caused thame all that was burnand and slay- and, as said is, to retire be sound of trumpet to the camp againe, quhair they put thame- selffis in arrayed battell; and in the vangaird was Magnus Reid, and in the reirgaird was all the Welsh men placed; to quhom Jon Q- peneron was maid chiftane, ane man of guid report, and of guid spirit in worldlie affaires, and the earle of Northumberland was in the middle waird with the rest of the multitud of the men of warre. One the other syd, the Scotismen placed thame selffis verie crastellie, for George, earle of Ormond, was in the stail himself. The laird of Craigiwallace, ane noble knyght of soverane manhood, was vpoun the right wing; the lord Maxwell, and the laird Johnstoun on the left wing, with ane chos- in companie of thair freindis; and manie other gentlemen of the realme. Soone be the armies war arrayed, the earle of Ormond said to his fellowis on this maner. "I requeist yow, most valient championes, to remember, it is for no wrongous quarrell, or in persute, but rather in our defence and safte of our selffis, from the

injuries of our enemies, and thair tirranie. And yea all know, that in doing so a befoir, it is turned to our disadvantage and displeasure : for we have experience quhair we have beine most justlie invaidit be thame, yitt the infinit favour of God hes beine evir readie to the just, and hes maid the victorie to inclyne to ws by menis expectatioun : and yea may be assured, that the victorie standis not in the multitud of men, bot in guid courage, directed from a just quarrell. Thairfore, latt ws depend vpounne Godis providence, and luik for victorie, if that your willis be to delyver your selffis, your wayffis and bairnes from the tyrannie of your enemies." Be thir woordis war said, the trumpetis sounded to joyne the armies: bot at the beginning, cam sick ane shour of dartis and arrowis vpoun the Scottis vangaird, that throw suddene fear, they took purpos to flie. Then Craiggiewallace begane to reproach them, saying, " It is not the dewtie of honest campiones to fear at the sight of thair enemies, and to deject thair courage befoir they cum to straikis. I exhort yow, thairfoir, to rusch forwardis vpoun your enemies with ane manlie countenance, and if yea pursue ane little whyll, think not bot the victorie sall inclyne in your handis, sieing your ac-

tioun is guid for the defence of your countrie. Follow me, thairfoir, and yea sall sie how happie a thing it is to put your lyves in parrell, for the resisting of your enemies, and delyverie of your selffis from thair tyrannie and bondage." Be thir wordis war said, his men war so intraged, and rushed so furiously vpoun thair enemies, with axes, spearis, and halbartis, and maid so great slauchter at the first to cuming, that they pat the Inglismen cleane a back from thair standart, and compelled thame at the last to tak the flyght. Magnus Reid, nothing effeired of this disadvantage, bot rather bedit up, and kindled thairat in greater ire nor became ane wyse chiftane, rushed forward vpoun Craigiewallace, thinking to have slaine him. But his men bure him back so cruellie, that with small difficultie, they slew him cruellie with all his guard. The rest of the Inglismen had no better fortoun. Quhen the clamour raise amongst the Scottismen that Magnus Reid was slaine, the Inglisch chiftane in quhom the Inglisch armie pat all thair confidence and felicitie, thair cam sick fear and dreadour vpoun thame, that they might not long susteane the preas of the Scottismen, bot gave backis. Vpoun quhom the Scottismen followed verie scharplie. Manie war slaine

in the thick of the battell, bot manie moe in the flyght. The watter boldinit with the filling of the sea, caused many to lose thair lyves, and perisch in the watteris. Vtheris sieand this, doubted whidder they sould fight and die with honour, or live with schame : and preferring the on to the other, war cruellie slaine vpoun the watter bankis. This battel was foughtin with great crueltie. Thair was slaine in it thrie thousand Inglismen, and the governor in the vanguard, and ellivin other noblemen, knyghtis of the ordour. And of the Scottismen, more nor six hunder. Thair was takin in this battell, John Openorene, and Robert Heringtoun twa noblmen English knyghtis, and als the earle of Northumberlandis sone, be whose convoy his father was horsed, and escaped his enemies. Thaire was taine ane great number of vtheris, and led captive in Scotland. Thaire was such aboundance of riches, silver and gold gottin in the feild, that the lyke was nevir sene in no manes dayes a befoir. The spoyll was parted amongis the Scottismen, according to the rate of thair armes. Craiggiewallace was deadlie hurt in the feild, and died the third moneth thairefter.

The earle of Ormond returned home againe with great triumph and imprisoned the princi-

pall of the captives within the castle of Lochmabane. Efter this he was treated and banquetted be the kingis majestie, with great magnificence. It is said, in the meane tyme of the banquet, the king maid ane harring to him, and Williame earle of Douglas, his brothir, saying, "Now my lordis, I beseik your lordschips, to remember, how happilie all thingis have succedit, and quhat honour cumes throw sage and wyse counsall, by the felicitie and renoun that chanced to all subjectis when they are rulled glaidlie, and vnder the obedience of a king or prince: and be the contrair quhat mischeife befallis thame that runes overhead to any purpose without regaird or foresight to God or man. It becumes all favoreris of the commoun weill, to conqueis all men that ar thair nighbouris to be thair freindis, and schow themselfis with all thair strenth strong enemies quhen they are urged to battell be their foes. For in so doeing the prince has pleasour to rule and governe the subjectis in peace and rest, frie from the injuries of thair enemies, and tirranie of oppressouris, and knowing that the conditoun and faschion of Douglassis from the beginning hes beine in this wyse, and yitt is, and as I suppone will be in tymes cuming. Bot

doubt thair is nothing so deare to me as the noblemen of the name of Douglas, quhilk I favour aboue all thingis, intirlic with my hairt, so that yea wold schow your selffis no worse myndit in the correctione of theifes and murdereris, nor yea have done your selffis, first and last, for the defence and libertie of this realme. For if theives and murdereris be not punisched, the poore anes nor the commones cannot leive in peace or rest: nor have no lyfe, quho ar the vpholders of the nobles, and perchance your awin kine and blood, albeit throw base estate they be dagenerat; and being Christianes and participantis with yow of the favour of God, and obedience of the same prince, to whom yea ar subject. And thairfoir I exhort yow to proceid in the renouned fame quhilk all your forbearis have conquiest in tymes bypast."

Quhen the king had said, the earle thanked his majestie with great reverence, and promised to perseveir in all thingis as he had comandit; and nevir to thoall thift nor slanchter vnpunisched in tymes to cum: nor yitt lat the same pas vnrevenged. Sua thir noblemen tuk thair leives, and passed home to thair wayffes and bairnes; convoyed with thair kine and freindis, with great triumph, joy, and gladnes.

Efter this, the lordes and nobilitie of Scotland stood in guid peace, rest, and quietnes. Bot when the word of this sorrowfull battell cam to London, it maid all the nobles and people of the countrie verie afrayed. Yitt that they sould not appear allutterlie dejected of their wonted courage, they decerned in parliament to revenge this slauchter maid lattie in the battell of Sark. Bot when they gathered ane armie to send in Scotland, weill furnished with all kynd of viveris and munition, thair suddainlie came ane civill discord amongst thaimselfis quhair of the lyk was never seine nor hard of before. The duik of York, the earles of Merch, Warwick, and Salisberrie, with monie other nobles of the realme, conspired against this Hendrie the Sixt, quhairfoir thei dissemblit that ire with the Scotismen, quhill ane more convenient tyme, and luik how bussie they war to vex us with battell, being at quyetnes and rest, so they war alsolicite to procure our peace, being troubled with warres amongst thaimselfis. They send ane ambassadour to treat for peace to the king of Scotland; quho be the advyce of the nobilitie, granted the same for three yeires: thinking it was not best to refuis, sieing the Inglismen attemptis war sufficientlie punish-

ed in the last battell, by the hand of God. This peace was maid in the yeir of God 1450 yeires, and this same yeir Sir Willame Colvill, knyght, sett vpoun James Auchinleck, ane neir freind to the earle Douglas, and slew him with sundrie of his freindis, becaus he had sustained sundrie injuries of his freindis, and had nevir gottin redres thair of, notwithstanding that the said Sir Willame requyred him sundrie tymes for the same effect. Bot the earle Douglas tuik sick high indignatioun at the slauchter of his freind, that he swore solemndlie nevir to rest quhill he was revenged thair of. And first gathered ane armie of men, and hirried all the landis perteaning to the said sir Willame, and thairefter seidged the castle quhair he was, quhilk schortlie was wone, and the said sir Willame and all vtheris that war thairin cruellie slaine, and the hous spoilzied. Thair was mainie of the countrie that commendit the earle Douglas his interpryse, for revenging of his freindis quarrell; if he had beine als diligent in punisching of murthereris and theifes that oppressed the poore commones: but manie hoped that this tyrannie sould sumtyme have ane end, that wexed thame at all tymes so cruellie.

At the last, the earle being so inriched throw

his awin great rentis, and buddis conquest in court, and also be the great exhaustioun of the poore people, and be the great importance that fell vnto him be the oursieing of theives, he tuik purpose to visit other countries, to advance his mightines; in so far as he thought no man equall to him in this realme. So John Douglas, lord of Balvenie, a man most lyk to his awin conditiones of ony man, being constitute procuratour and oversier of all affaires belonging to him in Scotland, in his absence; and all necessary thingis being prepared for estate, took his journey towardis Flanderis, accompanied with his brother, Mr James Douglas, a man of guid conditione, and weill be-seine in divine letteris, broucht vp ane long tyme at the scooles in Paris, and luiked for the bischoprick of Dunkell; thairefter to the earledome of Douglas, thinking becaus the earle had beine so long married, and not having bairnes, dispaired that he sould procreat any in tymes cuming. Thair was in cumpanie with him manie nobles and knightes, amongst whom was the lordis and knightis of Hamilton, Grahame, Saltoun, Seatoun, and Othphant, men of great estimatioun. Thair was vtheris of lower estate, as Cather, Vreuhart, Campbell, Forrester, and Lauther, all

knightis and gentlmen, whose convoy maid the earle so proud and insolent, that he represented ane kingis magnificence, quhair evir he came. Out of Flanderis he past in France, and out of France to Italie, and so forwardis to Rome. Bot the Romanes having knowledge of his cuming, mett him with ane honorable companie, and receaved him verie princleie within the toun.

Bot within two monethis efter his departure, sume of the nobles of the realme invyed the earle Douglas promotione with so great rentis and dominiones, and oppressing of vtheris with his tyrannie, vsed of befoir, begane to delaitt him, and schew his prydfull ambitione and disdaine of the peple, and high offences sustained be everie man, the tyme of his great credit into court. Bot monie sieing place given to men that pleased to plenyie, begane daylie more and more to plenyie vpoun his tyrannie. Bot the king, as became ane wyse prince, gave no sudden credit in the earle's absence; and thairfoir, send ane herald to summond John, lord Balvenie, procuratour to the earle Douglas, to answer to sick complantis as war given in on himself, kine, and freindis. Bot sieing he was sumquhat stubborne to obey the command givin to him, the king caused

ane companie of men of warre to bring him in against his will. At the quhilk time, sum perswaded him to vse him verrie rigourouslie, otherwayis everie rebell wold gainstand the kingis auctoritie. They sieing no hastie punischment, and the king nothing moved with thair saying, who thought not best to punisch such thingis in this anger, bot rather obey all thingis gentlie, least, that if he sould have beine rigorous, thair sould have cum great inconvenientis and calamities vpoun the commonweill; and sua caused accuse him, and spear at him quhat excuse he had to repell his poyntis of dittay and injuries, that was laid to the earle Douglas charge, and vtheris that war of his counsell and dependantis. Quhilkis poyntis, when he could not gudlie collour thame, he pat himselff in the kingis will; who commandit him to restore to everie man his owin, efter, as he might gett tyme and opportunitie. Yitt how soone he escaped in this wayes, and was frie at the kingis handis, he keiped nevir a word that he had spokin for repairing of his offences as he was commandit, following the counsallis of the earles of Ormond and Murray, who albeit, they durst not openlie, yitt they suborned him quyetlie to disobedience, and all vtheris flattereris to

quhom dissentione was evir pleasant, for by it, they thought they had ane voluptuous lyfe, so that nothing was so odious to thame as peace.

The king hearing of this proudness, caused the earle of Orkney, chancellour for the tyme, pas in Galloway and Cliddisdale, and gather vp all the rentis in these pairtis to the kingis vse ; and to mak collectouris for that effect, attour, to give everie ane, ane command in these countries to refound the skaithes and injuries done befoir be thame, and to eschew from offending of thair nighbouris in tymes cuming. Bot when the earle of Orkney passed to Galloway and Douglasdail, to the effect forsaide, accompanied with ane small number of folkis, not onlie was he disobeyed in his chairge, bot also mocked and injured be the earle of Douglas freindis. The king being provoked this wayes to anger, caused ane herald summond all such men quhatsumevir, of hie or low degrie, that favoured any Douglas to vnderly the law, and to declair the disobeyaris, the kingis rebellis, whose tyrranie, he thought to repres with fyre and sword. So the king, accompanied with ane armie, past in Galloway ; att whose cuming, the theiyes and murthereris took sick fear, that the fled to

strong holdis and strenthis for saftie of thair lyves, bot the king sent ane great part of his armie to pursue thame, who war repulsed verie contumeliouslie ; at the quhilk, the king took so great anger, that he seised all the fortalices and castles in the countrey, amonges quhom, he wan the castles of Lochmabane and Douglas, and becaus the castle of Douglas was so difficle to wine, he caused cast down the same to the ground. Bot Lochmaben was garnished with men of warre, and not castin down, becaus it was so hastilie rendrit in his will. Yitt he delt thair landis, guidis, and geir, to thair creditouris and complaineris, till they war satisfied of all thingis taine from thaim, quhairof the misdoeris war convict. The king, notwithstanding of this rebellione and disobedience, was not the more cruell in punisching thairof, nor he was at the beginning.

At last the earle Douglas being at Rome, it maid him to be affrayed : Thairfor took purpose with all diligence, to cum home in Scotland : but far from the magnificence that he passed a way with. For how soone word cam to thair eares, they pairted sundrie wayes : sum cam throw Flanderis, and sum throw France. The earle got saife conduct to cum

throw Ingland. Bot quhen he was marching near the Scottis border, he sent his brother, Mr James, befor him to the kingis majestie, to know the kingis mynd towards him. The king sieing this young man so obedient, treating his brotheris peace, he receaved him verie hamblie, saying, he desired no more of the earle of Douglas in tyme cuming, bot that he wold punisch murthereris and theivis in those pairtis quhair he bure auctoritie and rule, and namlie, in Annerdail. The earle Douglas, efter this, came home himselff, and was receaved right heartilie be the king, and remitted of all byganes; quhairfor, he promised thankfullie to rule all thingis within his boundes at the kingis command: and then he receaved all his strenthis and fortelices out of the handis of the kingis men of warre: and thereafter holdin in so great estimatioun, and favoured with the king, that he was maid lievetennent-generall over all the realme. Bot he stood not long in this credit: for fragile fortoun changes the conceitis of men in sick maner, that they stand schort whyll at ane purpose. So schort whyll efter, he past to speak with the king of Ingland, without knowlege of the king of Scotland, his awin prince, to be repaired, as he alleged, of sun-

drie dangeris sustained be frequent incursions of the Inglischmen a befoir. Bot the king of Scotland was highlie commoved with his passage in England, not onlie injayred be himselff, lightlied be the earle Douglas, bot also he thought sum quyet draucht to be drawin betuixt him and the king of England, to hes dishonour and offence. The quhilk, when the earle vnderstood that the king knew of his quyet doeingis, he tuik purpose and cam right humblie to the king, seikand pardon for his faultis, promiseand solemnedlie, nevir to commit sick ane offence in tymcuming : for quhom the Queine and nobles maid great request to forgive him. The king being moved throw thair request, took him againe in favouris, but depyryed him of all offices, and dischairged him of ony administratioun thair of: and thairfor, placed the earle of Orkney and Sir William Crichtoun in these offices, quho war at that tyme true, faithful, and obedient subjectis. The earle of Douglas was so offendit at this, that he hated the kingis counsaillouris as his deadlie enemies, and speciallie Sir William Crichtoun, for old fead that was betwixt thame. Attour sum flatterand courtiour said to the earle Douglas, that Sir William Crichtoun said among his freindis opinlie, that the

king did not his dewtie lyk ane true and faithfull prince ; not onlie that he thoalled the earle Douglas to escap with his lyfe vnpu- nished, bot also reconceilled sick ane man so oft to his favour againe, quho had deserved ane thousand deadis for his wicked tyrannie. And said morover, that it had beine guid for the commounweill that the earle Douglas, his kine, and freindis, had beine rooted out ; and thair memorie cleane stamped away : vther- wayis, if this be not done, so long as he or any of thame lives, he was assured that the king sould never righe long in peace and rest a- boue his realme, nor yitt the subjectis obey to his articles as becumis.

The earle Douglas hearing this, gave soone credit to sick wicked fals report of ane idle lowne, that delyted to put dissentioun betwixt noblmen : bot yitt he suppressed his irfull mynd, and took counsall with his freindis, how he sould distroy Sir Williame Crichtoun : for if he was cut off and slaine, he thought it but ane verrie small difficultie to wine the kingis fa- vour with all offices he had a befor ; sua be vaine wordis of wicked vnhappie flatterie, thair kindled ane fire quhilk was not able to be slokened in thair dayes. At the last, the earle of Douglas being adverteised be sum

spyas that Sir Williame Crichtoun had sett ane day to pas to Edinburgh, thought to put that vnhappie purpose to executioun: and to that effect, he ordained sum bloodie tyrantis to ly in waitt in sum quyet place near hand to his gaitt, for his slauchter. Vpoun the morne, Sir William Crichtoun, knowing nothing of this waching for his distruction, chanced near by to that same place, quhair the boucheris lay, quho brak about him with sick ane reird and clamour, that he was vtterlie afrayed and abased. But being adverteised be his sone, ane young valiant man, and sum otheris his freindis, to remember vpon his old vonted courage, and not to fear, sieing it was force either to fight or flie, and the proverb is, fortoun helpis the hardie, but no remeid can be found for feiblnes; he defendit so manfullie, till ane of the brigantis was slaine, and ane vther deadlie woundit: and at the last, sieing he might not mak his pairt guid, he took the flight with his folkis towardis the castle of Creichtoun for saftie of thair lyves, and sua escaped the perrill. Bot it was not long vnrecompenced, for he gathered ane great companie of his kine and assisteris, and cam forwardis to Edinburgh, to be revenged vpoun the earle Douglas, quho was remaining thair

with ane small number, bot ony suspitioun of Sir Williame Crichtoun his gathering: and thairfor, it was force to him to fle, and leive the toun to saiff himself, or ellis bot doubt he had beine in perrill of his lyff, and all they that war with him in companie.

The mutuall injuries and desphightfull conceitis moved on both sydis, exasperat both the pairties, that the ane of thame appeared to bring the other to vter destruction and ruin. Throw this dissentioun the realme was divydit into tuo pairtes and factiones. Bot the earle Douglas being verie heavilie comoved that he sould so schamfullie be put out of the toun of Edinburgh, be the deceitfull gathering of his enemies, fearing that the king was not forgetfull of so manie offences done be him a befoir, and thairfoir wold be more favorable to Sir Williame Crichtoun than to him, he thought to bind a league with sick nobles as wold be pairtie; yea, far aboue, if it cam to the worst, both to his vnfrendis and the king himselfe, if he wold declare himself in the contrair, and thairfoir sent quyet messages to his freindis, and speciallie to the earles of Crawfoord, Ross, and Murray, to insist and debait againes his incursiones and dangeris, that appeared to fall vpoun presentlie. The

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tice. Bot this attempt succedit verie vnhap-
pilie, for, in the hight of Annerdaill he was
takin, with his complices, and brought to the
earle Douglas, quhair he was castin in the
yrones, and thairefter schamfullie hanged, as
he had beine ane theife, notwithstanding the
kingis commandement in the contrair, and vther
messengeris sent for that effect. The king
took verie heavilie with this contempt, bot
superceidit it for the tyme ; attour, the people
was so burdenit with importable chairges, that
thair was no lyffe for thame, and yitt, notwith-
standing, they durst not complaine, nor tell
thair awin miserie in thir troublous tymes,
for mischeife begane daylie more and more to
increase. Vther noblmen that war full of
substance had no will of discord, bot abhorred
thir civill warres ryssing amongis thamselffis,
and lamented quyetlie the dangerous calami-
ties quhilk lay not in thair power to quench
nor stay *.

* Here the sense is evidently complete, and the narrative
connected ; but, in the most modern of the manuscripts con-
sulted, there is inserted the following passage, which is also
adopted in printed copies of the work.

Att this meane tyme the earle of Douglas cast himselfe
to be stark against the king, and therfor sought and per-
swaded all men under his opinion and servitude, and in spe-

This mischeife increased so daylie, that all men took suspitione that the earles of Douglas, Crawford, and Ross, with their assistance,

ciall, the gentlemen of Galloway, with Coile, Carrick, and Cuninghame, and all other parties that were neir adjacent unto him; desyreing them daylie to ride and goe with him as his own houshold men and servants, and to assist him in all thingis whatsomevir he had to doe, whither it was ryght or wrong, with the king or againest him. Bot some other wyse men, seing the danger appearand of the earle of Douglas procéidingis, contrair to the king and his authoritie; therfor would not assist him, nor take part with him, nor side, nor gang with him, nor be his man. Among the rest of thir was one called Maclelan, who was tutor of Bontrie for the time, and sister sone to Sir Patrick Gray, who was maister of Gray, and principal servitour to the king, and captane of his guard. This Maclelan, for love he bore to the king's grace, and to the ministrations of justice, would on no wayes ride with the earle of Douglas contrair the king and his authoritie, nor yit within his boundis, doing no man wrong. The earle of Douglas seing this, that this man would not serve him as he desired, came haistilie unto his house with ane great number of men, and seidges it, and took him out of the samine, and had him to the Castle of Douglas, and cast him there in strait prison. His friendis sieing this, passed to the court to Sir Patrick Gray, to shew him the maner hereof, how it stood with his sister's sone. The which, when Sir Patrick Gray heard the novellis, was heavilie displeased at the matter, and passed haistilie to the king, and shew him the maner how it stood with his sister's sonne, desyring the king's grace effectuoslie,

quhilk was the greatest pairt of the realme, should hastilie depose the king of his authoritie, quhilk suspitioun being schowin to the

that he might have his supplication to the earle of Douglas for to delyver him his sisters sonne, which the earle of Douglas had in captivitie and prisone for the time. The king granted verie thankfullie the samine, and caused write ane sweit letter of supplication to the earle of Douglas, for to deliver the tutour of Bombie to Sir Patrick Gray, his came. This writing being subscribed and signated with the king's signet, ther after delyvered to Sir Patrick Gray to use the same as he thought cause, who passed haistilie with the said writing and supplication of the king's to the earle of Douglas, who was then in the Castle of Douglas for the time, sitting at his dinner; and hearing told that Sir Patrick Gray, the king's familar servant was lighted at the gate, the earle mervelled much att the matter, what that should meane, and caused incontinent draw the boards, and rose and met the said Sir Patrick with great reverence and humilitie, because he was king's principall captane and secret servant, and familiar to his grace: Whairfor the earle receaved [him] with more thanks. But all was under collour and deceat, for the earle had no favour to the king, nor to none of his familiars. Yit he inquired att the said Patrick if he had dined, who answered he had not. Then the earle said, ther was "no talk to be had betwixt ane full and ane fasting, therefore yee shall dine, and we shall talke together at length."

In this mean tyme Sir Patrick Gray set down to his dinner, and the earle treatted him, and made him good cheare, wherof Sir Patrick Gray was well contented, beleaving all things to succed well thereafter. But the earle of Douglas,

king, he took great fear thair of; for he knew weill thair factioun was als potent, if they war not mair potent nor his awin, for he maid him

on the other pairt, tooke ane suspitione and conjecture what Sir Patrick Grayes commission was, and, dreading the desyne thereof should be for his friend, the tutor of Bombie, therefore, in the meane time, when they were at the dinner, talking of mirrie matters, the earle caused quietlie take forth the tutor of Bombie out of prison and have him to the greene, and there strooke of his head, and tooke the samine away from him, and syne covered a fair cloth on his bodie, that nothing might be sein of that treasonable act that was done.

In this meane time, when dinner was done, Sir Patrick Gray presented the kings writing unto the earle, who reverentlie receaved it, and considered the effect thereof. He gave great thanks to Sir Patrick Gray, saying, he was beholden to him that brought so familiar ane writting fra his prince to him, considering how it stood betwixt thame at that tyme; and, as to the desire and supplicatione, it should be thankfullie granted to the king, and the rather for Sir Patrick's saike, and took him by the hand and led him furth to the greine, where the gentleman was lying dead, and shew him the maner, and said, "Sir Patrick you are come a litle to late; bot yonder is your sister's sone lying, but he wants the head; take his body and doe with it what yee will!" Sir Patrick answered againe, with ane sore heart, and said, "My lord, if ye have taken from him his head, dispone vpon the bodie as ye please;" and with that called for his horse and leapt thereon. And when he was on horsback, he said to the earle on this manner, "My

to misknow all thair proceidingis, and sent for the earle Douglas, and called for him verrie humblie to cum to Stirling, and speak with, and thairefter called him to the supper and banquetted him verie royallie, thinkand if it was possible with good deadis to withdraw him from his attempt that he purposed to doe.

lord, and I live ye shall be rewarded for your labours that ye have vsed at this tyme, according to your demerits." At this saying the earle was highlie offended, and cryed for horse. Sir Patrick seing the earles furie spurred his horse; but he was chased neir to Edinburgh or they left him, and had not bein his leid horse was soe tryed and good he had bein taken.

But when this news cam to the king, he was heavilie discontented therwith, both at the slaughter, and syne of the chasseyng of his servant. To that effect the king called his secreit councall to advyse hereupon what was best to be done for to daunton this wicked man, that could noe wayes be staunched from reaffe oppression and slaughter, both of great men and small. The councell advysed, and concluded that it was best to flatter him, and to bring him in to the councell be fair heights and promises; and, in the meane tyme to punish him according to his demerit. So the king made him to forget all faults and enormities done be the earle of Douglas in tymes by past, desyryng nothing of him but that he would be a good man in tymes coming, and for that cause desired him effectuouslie to come to the councell, making him sure with all promises, that he should be saifie pardoned. Some sayes, he got the great seale thereunto, or he would grant to come to the king.

At last, efter super, the kinge called the earle Douglas to ane secreit chamber, and put all his men a syd except sick as war vpoun the secreit counsall, and his awin guard : and then said to him verrie meiklie and gentlie, as it had beine bot ane sober offence, incaice of his prydfull mynd that he sould gainstand the kingis exhortatioun and requeist. " It is givin me to vnderstand my lord," said he, " that thair is sum confederatioun betwixt yow and sum of the nobles of the realme. I pray yow thairfoir break sick leagues and secrecie, that is not vonted to be vnder ane prince by his authoritie and command, and that yea wold be so guid to remove all occasioun as may caus the subjectis of the realme tak suspitioun of your evill myndis towardis me. As for my self I know no evill, nor beleives nane of yow. Yitt it war vnseimand to doe any such thingis as is not consonant to the lawes of this realme and pleasour of the kingis leiges. For doubtles it cannot be without scandall of the people, not yitt without the princes hatred to committ sick thingis, as sall caus the people keip evill ordour, throw evill example, by the quhilk the realme sould be abused be everie man, evin as they war a people without law or justice."

This being said, and manie vther pleasant wordis, quhilkis war impossible to repeat, the earle Douglas, nothing moved with the kingis humanitie, answered verrie proudlie saying, that he could not break that band that was once maid, nor yitt would he discharge the samyn for no manes sayinges; and that for the great offences the king had done to him, reproachand the king verrie arrogantlie, that he had reprovèd him of all his offences. Yitt notwithstanding of his proud answeir, the king exhorted him to doe nothing that was degenerat from the nobilitie of his forbearis, for that was verrie vicked that he had begune; and was sufficient caus to tak his lyff, landis, and guidis; deserving forfalterie, and his name to be abolischèd and extinguisched for evir. Att the last, the king sieing that he could not spead with fairnes, and also dred that throw so proud answeires, warres sould have followed thairvpoun, as was rumored befor, vnles hastie remeid war fund, and so he tuk ane great anger, and thought to doe the thing that was lese skaith to the commounweill, nor to trouble the haill realme thairwith, and so he pulled out ane sword, and said, I sie weill my prayer can doe nothing to caus yow desist from your wicked counsellouris, and immediatlie thair-

after he strak him throw the bodie thairwith; and thairefter the guard, hearing the tumult within the chamber, rushed in and slew the earle out of hand. This slauchter was maid in the yeir of God 1452 yeires, vpoun the twentie day of Februar.

Thair was in the toun of Stirling, at this tyme, manie of the earle Douglas freindis, with his brother James, Earl of Ormond, earle of Murray, and the lord Balvenie, knyght Cad-dach, and the lord Hamiltoun, ane man of grit estimatioun amonges the nobles, with many other great gentlemen, verrie potent both in riches and freindis. Thir men how soone word cam to them that the earle was slaine; and word cam to them within the toun, they remained all that night, and vpoun the morne they put James Douglas in his brotheris place, as was ordained be the earle a befor, quha maid ane lang harring and exhortatioun to his freindis to seidge the castle and revenge the vnworthie slauchter of his brother with the kingis lyffe. Bot they kest sundrie thingis in thair myndis, quhilkis war not possible for thame to doe, sieing they had no invasioun for this effect, to seidge the castle, being so stronge. Yitt they gave the king verrie uncouth wordis, saying, they sould never

with ane small number, bot ony suspitioun of Sir Williame Crichtoun his gathering: and thairfor, it was force to him to fle, and leive the toun to saiff himself, or ellis bot doubt he had beine in perrill of his lyff, and all they that war with him in companie.

The mutuall injuries and desphightfull conceitis moved on both sydis, exasperat both the parties, that the ane of thame appeared to bring the other to vtter destruction and ruin. Throw this dissentioun the realme was divydit into tuo pairtes and factiones. Bot the earle Douglas being verie heavilie comoved that he sould so schamfullie be put out of the toun of Edinburgh, be the deceitfull gathering of his enemies, fearing that the king was not forgetfull of so manie offences done be him a befoir, and thairfoir wold be more favorable to Sir Williame Crichtoun than to him, he thought to bind a league with sick nobles as wold be pairtie; yea, far aboue, if it cam to the worst, both to his vnfrendis and the king himselfe, if he wold declare himself in the contrair, and thairfoir sent quyet messages to his freindis, and speciallie to the earles of Crawfoord, Ross, and Murray, to insist and debait againes his incursionis and dangeris, that appeared to fall vpoun presentlie. The

quhilkis being gladlie granted, for all thir men, as ane, hated Sir Williame Crichtoun, with the rest of the courtiouris that war in credit with the king. Bot ony hope of reconciliatioun thair was maid ane confederacie betuixt thir earles and thair freindis, be superscriptiones and soleme oathis, that quhatsumevir vrong was done to thame, or ony of thame, or thair kine and freindis, sould be ane lyk quarrell to thame all, contrair quhatsumevir man within or without the realme, and to spend thair lyves, landis, and geir, for the observing of this covenant. The earle Douglas being so proud and insolent, that they boasted in all pairtes quhairvir they cam to have the rulling and guyding of the realme, againes all menis willis, and to have thair enemies vterlie exterminat. Bot this ambitioune and vaine vaunting was the caus that the king of new againe began to hat the hous of Douglas; and also sum limmeris in Douglasdaill that had hirreied all the lands perteaning to Johne Herreise, a faithfull subject to the kingis majestie at all tymes. Quhairof, quhen this Johne Herreise hard of, complained, and sought redrese at the earle of Douglas handis, and nevir could gett remeid, he tuik purpose to revenge the vrong, becaus he gott no jus-

they war compelled to settle a little a back : The quhilk when the Angus men perceaved they war put a back, and having so great advantage, they cam the more ferclie vpoun thame nor they did befor, and namlie vpoun the place that was farthest chairgit ; quhill att the last John Collict of Bannamoone being sumquhat offendit at the earle of Crawford the day befor, becaus he would not enter his sone in his land, the said earle being superior thairof, quhairat the said laird took sick disphight that he left the earle of Crawford, and past out at ane syd ; whom ane great pairt of the ablest of the armie followed. This laird of Balnamoone was captane of the aixmen, in whois handis the haill hope of victorie stood that day. But the earle of Crawford sieing him destitute of thame, in quhom he lipned most, was compelled to flie for saftie of his lyffe, and albeit the victorie inclyned to the earle Huntlie, yitt he gat not thesame without great slauchter of his folkis. Tuo of his brether war slaine, with sundrie vtheris gentlmen and comones. Thair war slaine vpoun the earle of Crawfordis syd, Sir John Lindsay his brother, with manie vther gentlmen, quhairof had beine great pittie, if thair had beine ane better quarrel. So the earle of Crawford being vanquished in this manner, it is said that ane

gentlman followed him so ferclie, that he drew him in the midis of the preas of the folkis that war gathered about thair maister to be his saif gaird in the midle of the flight; and so was compelled to pas with thame as he had beine ane man of thair awin, to the place of Phenevin, quhair he heard the earle say, that he wisched himselff to be sewin yeites in hell, for the honorabill victorie that had befallen to the earle of Huntlie that day; considdering the great favour that he had conquest of his prince for his releiffe and repressing of his rebellis. Vpoun the morne, after all the dead bodies war buried, according to their estates, and albeit the earle of Crawford was overcum, as said is, yitt he remained in Angus, as he did befoir, and persued all thame that war not of his factione, with great crueltie, waistand thair landis with fyre and sword, and namlie thame that fled from him in the battell, in casting doun thair houssis to the grund. This battell was strukin vpoun the ascentioun day, in the yeir of God 1453 yeiris.

In the mean tyme, quhill the earle of Huntlie was occupeyed in this maner for the libertie of the countrie, the earle of Murray entred and brunt the landis of Strathbogie, with the haill cornes thairof, and all vther landis perteaning to the earle of Huntlie, quhilk was

not long vnrequyeted: for how soone he was victorious over the commoun enemies of the realme, he invaidit the landis of Murray with greater slaughter and crueltie nor was done in his boundis: Att whose cuming, the earle of Murray, with his freindis and clyentis, tuik sick fear, be reasoun of the recent victorie, that it behoved him to fle aff the countrie for the saftie of his lyffe. It is said, that the earle of Huntlie cam to the toun of Forres, and brunt the on syd of the toun that apperteaned to the earle of Murray's kine and freindis, bot spair-ed the other syd, be reasoun the greatest pairt thair of perteaned to his awin favoureris and weilwilleris.

Schort quhill efter, the king caused sett ane parliament be the counsall of bischope James Kennedie of St Andros, quhair the decreet of forfaltrie, quhilk was led againes the earle of Crawford a befor, was ratified and approved againe: his guidis and gear confiscatt, his landis delt, himself delait tratour for his rebel-lioun, and his name abolisched and blotted out of the buik of armes for evir. And als James, earle of Douglas, the earles of Murray and Ros, James, lord Hamiltoun, and Johne, lord Balvenie, and vtheris divers landit gentlemen, were summondit to the parliament to a certaine day, to vnderly the law for certain crymes, that the

king had to lay to thair charges. Bot this was in waine, for none of thaim thought to mak obedience or compeirance. And als vpoun the night efter they war summondit, sum exploratouris war sent to the toun of Edinburgh to spy the faschione of all thair proceedingis; quho, at thair maisteris commandis, affixt paperis vpoun the kirk doores, sealed with the earle's awin hand and signet, bearing thir wordis in effect: the earle Douglas wold not obey command, nor charge in tym-cumming be reasoun the king was but ane bloodie murtherar of his awin blood, and breaker of the law of hospitalitie: ane fals vngodlie thrister of innocent blood, without just quarrell or occasioun: with many vther contumelious sayingis, vnworthie to rehearse. At the quhilk, the king tuik so high disdaine, that he gathered ane companie of armed men to invaid this tyrrant: And sieing it was about the dead time of the yeir, he could doe nothing for repairing of the same, except he brunt the cornes and hirried the countrie, and slew sundrie spyes: he returned home againe, and deferred his purpose quhill the spring tyme of the yeir. Bot the earle, with his assisteris, tuik little head of thair hirschipis, slaughter, or warre, bot was als insolent as if

they had nevir beine afflicted with sick misfortoun: and, moreover, that the landis and rentis perteaning to his vmquhill brother, sould not cum vnder the handling of frained men, he sent to the Pope for a dispensatioun to marrie his brotheris wayff, to whom a great pairt of the landis fell throw the deceas of hir husband, besydis the landis quhilkis perteaned to hir in heritage, quhilk he could be no manner of way obtaine. And, thairfor, without law, or ony respect of God, or guid conscience, he tuik and married his brotheris wayff to the effect forsaid.

In the spring of this yeir, thairefter, thir intestine warres within the boundis of the commounweill, begane to increase more and more, and sua continewed twa yeires togidder, during the quhilk tyme, the Douglass brunt all the landis, and hirried thame perteaning to the king and his assisteris, and als to thame that war not plaine of his factione. Vpoun the vther syd, the king and his assisteris, verrie loath to vse sick crueltie for thair recompence, bot rather to break thair proud enemies arrogancie, waisted and hirried Annerdaill, Ettrick forrest, and all vther landis perteaning to the other factioun. Att the last, the earle of Douglas speciall freindis, sua

many as war left alyve during the saidis cruell warres, being wext and irked so long be frequent hirschipis, and surfett roadis, draving to extreame powertie, gave counsall to thair cheife to leive and desist from his seditious disobedience, and humblie to desir pardon of the kingis majestie, and render himselff but fraud or guyle in his will and gentrice: quho of his kinglie honour appearandlie, could not deny the same vnto him: for, if a king will denud himselff of all clemencie and pittie, then it is ane signe and token of his fearfull dred and terrour to everie man. Attour, they gave the earle to vnderstand, that the king being so wext as he appeared to thame, throw longsum and tedious travell tane of the appeasing of the commounweill, wold be als glad to ressave him in his favouris, as he wold be to offer himselff thairto: And sua not onlie sould he be reconceilled to his prince, bot als might conquieis the freindschip of many othe- ris as principall aider of all mischeife rigne- and within the realme. Quhen his freindis had said this, he maid answer, that he wold nevir put his lyff in that manes will and danger that had first pat down tuo in the castle of Edinburgh, that war brother bairnes with him, and als Williame, earle of Douglas, his awin

brother; off quhom the lyk range never within this realme: "and was not all thir men," sayes he, "called verrie noble, both be himself and his present counsallouris to righteous actiounnes; to the effect thairby, the law of nature and hospitalitie, they sould be evin as it war dead, destroyed and slaine vnder the colour of intertainment; how meikle more fearfull is it to me to put myself in this danger. So he thought thair was but one of tuo to be chosine, either extreame chance of battell, quhairby anemight have the vpperhand, or els if they left the feildis and gave over the interpryse, they sould be murthered, slaine, or banished, aither with intollerable chairges that might fall to his hie derisioun, skaith, and schame to his kine and freindis. Schorthie, he thought thair was no other midway that might delyver him of that present danger." For the quhilk sayings, many begane to leive his mightie courage in sick adversitie: vtheris not onlie disallowed his obstinat mynd in sick vickednes, but also reproached the allow-eris and fortifieris of him in sick perversed perseverance, thinkand, and weill it was true indeed, that all they that had fed him with sick flatterie and disobedience, both towardis God and the king, wold not continew vnto the hap-

pie end of this matter, as they had promised, to the destructione of the commonweill, and destroying of the prince; for they knew that his prydfulnes could not laik ane mischeivous end, as might be sufficientlie vnderstood be the example of sick lyk men in all tymes by-gane, both in Scottis and vther forrane histories.

Then how soonethe earle of Crawford vnderstood the earle Douglas obstinat and wilfull disobedience, for quhois quarrell he had fallen in sick mischeife, he dispyted his compaine, and tuik purpose to humble himself, and cum in ane base apperrel to the king to ask pardone. He thought if he wold perseveir in his wicked society and band, that not onlie should he, his kine and friendis, with thair posteritie, be delaited, and put from all memorie; bot also the noble actis and deadis of his forbearis, quhilk thair guid service had conquest, baith the landis that he possest presentlie, and als the kingis favouris, with great laud and commendatioun of all men, should be obscured and forgott for evir. Sua when the king was cuming to the Northland, cuming throw Angus, the earle of Crawford cam bairheaded and bairfuted to the king, cled as he had beine ane miserable cative, guyltie of ane

cryme, committed in judgment, dollorous, and in poore arrayment, to mak the judges have commiseratioun and pitie. And so accompanied with a small number of folkis, sad with drearie countenance, kest thame in the kingis gaitt. But fra hand he cam befor the kingis grace with teares burstand furth abundantlie, and fell on his knees; quhilk being schowin to the king quhat man it was, and quhat they war that was in his companie, and that the earle confidit much in the kingis clemencie, quhairin he had placed his whole hope of restitution: then, moved bot any fear or dreadour, pat himself in the kingis will and mercie: the king bad raise him vp to sie quhairfoir he came, all fear and dreadour sett asyd. Than it was said that the earle's courage being sumquhat recovered againe, dryed the teares from his eyis, and said to the king in maner following. "If transgressouris of the lawis and statutis of this realme hoped for na other thing at kingis handis, and princeis haveing the ruell and governement of otheris, bot that which the law decerned; most mightie prince, I sie no place left to me this day for remission of my cryme: yitt, notwithstanding the samyne, reasone itself perswadis me with guid hope to cum into thy clemencie, to impetrat

pardone for my offences, as it war to sum sicker anchor; in whois handis lyes both the power of lyffe and death. For I believe clemencie to be the principall of all royal dewties, and yee to have conquiest the same, as it becomes ane king above all vertewes. For if my seveir sleuth wold labour to put away argument, of the same reasone it wold appear to mak away all occasiōe of amendement from thame that fallis sumtyme from reasone, and sua should all kingis vertewis be obscured and closed up, and ane broad entres opined to all kynd of defectione and iniquitie. I grant, indead, that man sould of his dewtie not declyne from ryght or reasoune. Bot ane thing I requyre, quhat is he that is in greatest estimatioun of the commoun people in all civill and publick affaires, that may ayow that he hes newir fallin againes the lawis, aither for the caus of hatred, favour, dreadour, or invy? I believe, forsooth, that no man can say, it is bot caiceable to ane man to fall in ane offence, bot to amend and recognise, and condemne his fault himselff, it is ane great gift and benifiet of God: For, it becomes ane that hes fallin in error, to the quhilk every mortall man is subject, to becum penitent, and amend his lyffe, with firme purpose to es-

chew the lyk intymes cuming. Quhairfoir, most clement prince, I am ane wearie man cum vnto your majestie this day, granting that I have faulted, and my conscience bearing witnes condemnis my awin doeing, in so far that I confes I am not worthie to live, vnles I be willing on the ane pairt myself, to correct the former fashione of my lyfe, and on the other pairt, the great pitie of the noble hous of Lindsayes to fall into distructione: bot if yea help it in tyme, quhilk should move yow to restore me for my forbearis caus, even as it war from death to lyff againe, for thy clemencie quhilk no man hes beine repulsat fra, at any tyme, that was moved with guid, without fraud or guyle, to humble thamselffis thairto, hes givin me ane hardiement to ask pardone for my offences. I pray the thairfoir, that I may obtaine this my requeist, and that for my forbearis, thair treuth and constancie, cair and travell, tain be thame for the defence of the realme, and becaus the beginning of our hous, progres and geneologie of the same, will appear to further me in this caise, I sall declar the same brieflie to the first man of the surname, quhilk was called Lindsay, ane propper name than to him, quhilk now is the surname of our

clane. Kenneth, the second son to Alpine, rewairded with large boundis, and landis in this countray, for his guid counsall and souerane manhood in the overthrowing of the Pyghtis, ane long tyme thairefter this, Alexander succeidit lineallie to him, quho was slaine at the bridge of Stirling, fighting richt manfullie againes the Inglischmen, our old enemies, for king Robert the First his quarrell, vpoun quhose factione and partie he schew him selff that tyme, and all other tymes right manfullie. This Alexander begot Alexander quho was slaine at the battell of Dumblane, for the defence and preservation of the young king, David the Second, from the tyrranie of his enemies. Schort quhill efter this battell, David Lindsay succeidit baith to his fatheris landis and etc.; for he was slaine at Hallidonhill, when the Scottis men war fighting againes the Inglischmen, for the libertie of our native countrie: whose nevoy, sone to John, his brother, called James, faucht vpoun the bridge of London ane singular combat with the Lord Waillis, ane strong campione, and of great estimatioun with the king of England at that tyme, and vanquished him, notwithstanding of his strenth and might, to no lese schame and marvell of his adversaries then gritt

laud and prais of this our native countrie. Then King Robert the Second rewarded him with the landis and castle of Crawford, quhor throw our earledome, is so moved for his singular behaviour towardis the commonweill, be his counsall and convoy in all thingis pertaining to the weillfare of the realme, the tyme of Robert the Second, and was ruled with greater craft and wisdom nor in any aiges a befor: for this James begatt David, quho was my father, quho deserved great laud and praise, for the diligent inquisitione maid be him for the searching of the tratouris that pat down thy father, of worthe memorie, and tuik so great travell in the punishing thair of, that he desistit never till everie ane of thame war condignlie punished for thair schamfull treason. Sua no man doubtis bot thy excellencie knowis perfyllie, be our Scottis histories, the wisdom, constancie, strength, and singular manhood, with the singular knowledge of wordlie affaires of my predecessours, how everie ane hes lost thair lyves for the libertie and weillfare of this realme. But fy on me, most miserable and ynworthie tratour, that is so forgettull of all thir men; quhat mischance was in my mynd when I adjoyned me in armour with the tratouris that conspyred a

gainest thy majestie, and, by my cruell doingis, compelled all Angus, with many otheris, to invaid thame that war cuming for thy defence, for the support of the fals conjured traitouris ! O wilfull and fooll hardie interpryse, subtill and temerarious purpose ! O high furie and woodnes ; O miserable chance to be lamented ! not onlie have I broucht myselve in this miserie, bot also hes brotght the hail noblemen and gentlemen of Angus to extreme danger, both of thair lyves and tinsell of houssis. *Quhat sall I say or doe ? quhair sall I goe or be ? quhat moyane sall red me of this mischeife ?* All law positive denyes that I should live. Bot to ryve the lyff out of my bodie, the actis and statutis of this realme requyres that I should thoall ane schamfull dead. It is of trueth thair is no remead for me nor non of my adheerentis, who casuallie hes fallin as men : I will not say fallin from thair dew obedience for fear of me, vales thy royall majestie, who hes the power of lyff and death, not have pitie and commisseratioun on ws, and grant ws grace and pardon, quhilk the lawis and actis of parliament denyes vnto ws alluterlie. Yitt your grace may doe better, sieng that kingis and princes may dispence with lawis and statuta. Attour, it is

ane lamentable caice to sie the noble and ancient hous of Lindsayes, conquiest with great wisdom and manhood and travellis, to perisch onlie for the offence of onlie on man. I pray the thairfoir, most mercifull prince, that I be not debarred from thy favouris, or exyled thairfra, or yitt denyed of thy humanitie, quhilk hes beine schowin larglie to divers vtheris a befoir. For, if it be ane great excellence to vanquisch thy enemye, yitt no lese prais with guid adwysement to have pitie on him; becaus it is vnderstood be ane suir puissance, when he moderatis his awin strenth and power, and knowis how to overcum his awin effectis of ony victorie. I regaird not my awin persoun any maner of way, thairfoir it is content to ws to vnderly ony punischment yow pleas, aither to be hanged, to be rivin with wyld beastis, to be drowned, castin over ane craige. It is nather the fearfull induring of my dearest spous, nor the greitting of my bairnes, nor the lamentable sobbing of my freindis, nor hirschip of my landis, that moves me so meikle as the decay and falling of our hous, and lamentable change of fortoun of the noblmen of Angus, with the rest of my adheerentis, whose lyves, landis, and guidis, standis in danger for my caus and surname of Lindsayes. Have

compassioun on the noblemen that concordit to my factioun, that they, at the least, be not spoilzied of thair lyves and heritages for my offence."

Quhen the earle had endit, the noble and gentlemen of Angus, that cam with the earle to seik remissioun, held vp thair handis to the king most dollourouslie, crying mercie, quhill thair sobbing and sighing cutted the wordis, that almost thair prayeris could not be vnderstood; throw the quhilk thair raise sick ane ruth and pittie amongst the companie, that nane almost could conteine thamselffis from teares. And so everie man begane to implore the kingis majestie for respit to the earle and his assisteris; bot principallie James Kennedy, bischop of Sanct Andros, and Sir Williame Crichtoun, be whose persuasioun the earle cam at the tyme to seik mercie, whom he compelled, contrair thair heartis, to maintaine his treasoun and conspiracie, praying the king, of his benignitie, to spair him, for the experience of his mischeife that had fallin thame throw his rebellione, it sould mak them mare humble and obedient to thair prince nor if thei had nevir fallen a befoir. Attour, so great ane manes repentance and obedience to his prince was not to be lightlied: have consi-

deratione to the circumstance of tyme and present danger that was in the realme; for, if sick ane thing be as fayth and trueth, no man guddle can beleive or suspect any fraud or guyle.

Be thir menis wordis, lamentable gestur, cotinenance, and earnest prayeris of the earle Crawford and his assistouris, and be the requiestis and prayeris of sick as war about him, [the king] commanded thame to be of guid confort, and to be of better mynd towardis the affaires of the commounweill not they war a befoir, saying, that he nather desired the noblemens landis, lyves, guidis, nor geir; but rather to conqueis thair heartis and freindschipis: and that it was of truth, that he waxed irfull againes all conspiratouris, bot yit wold sette his mynd so soone as they became penitent of thair offences. And also he vnderstood that it became an prince to be revenged vpoun rebellis and murthereris, of his majestie yit, notwithstanding, he would vse great moderance hearin, and deall with them als gentille as he could, without dangeris of vtheris, and evill example. Attour, he desired no greater revenge of them, nor to sie ane man of great spirit and courage, attemptand, schort quhyll since, so temerariouse above his degrie, now

tendering himself free without any compulsion, so that he granted he had no other help or refuge of restitution, but to tender himself in the kingis clemencie. And that he being denud of all honour, fear and dreadour sett a syd, asked mercie and forgivnes of him on his knies, quhom he pursued most cruellie, adjoynd and sociat with the most cruell enemies of the realme.

How soone the king had said this and sicklyk wordis, schewing his mynd inclyned to mercie, he ressaived the earle and his assisouris to his grace and favouris, absolved thame from les majestie, restored tham to thair former dignities and estates, quhilk was great joy and gladnes to all that beheld the same. But the earle gloried in his happie eventure, and conveyed the kingis majestie in the north, and with him ane chosin companie of young able gentlemen of Angus, and, in the month thair-after, banquetted him in the Castle of Phenevin, and promised faithfullie to be readie with all his forces to fight against the conjured enemies of the realme, when and quhair it pleased the kingis majestie. The earle being in this wyse reconciliat and ressaived in the kingis favouris, gave over all kind of tyrannie, and became ane faithfull subject and sicker

targe to the king and his subjectis. Att the last, in this maner being reconciliat and sett at quyetnes and rest, his freindis, and all otheris, as appeared, being also in great tranquillitie, fortoun, that sufferis nothing to remain stable, but all thingis subject to ruine and decay, leining vpoun ane bruckle staffe, thoalled not the happie estat of this man long to continew, for, in the saxt moneth efter his restitution, he took the hot fevir, and died in the yeir of God 1454 yeires, and was buried with great triumph, in the Greyfrieres of Dundie, in his forbearis sepulchre.

In the same yeir the colledge of Glasgow was fundit. In the yeir preceeding, Mahomett, prince of the Turkis, sieged and wan the famous citie of Constantinople, and did great slauchter and crueltie vpoun the Christianes quhairevir he came, Nicolas the Fyft being pope of Rome, and maid the same, from thence furth, his principall dwelling place, and yitt possessis the same.

In the nixt yeir thairefter, quhilk was the fyftie-fyve yeir of God, thair was ane parliament sett att Edinburgh, quhair James earle of Douglas, Beatrix his brotheris wayff, pretendit spous to himselff, George earle of Ormond, and the lord Balvenie, war altogidder

forfalt and condemned to the dead. Thair was ane convention thairefter, quhair the king called to remembrance how that the earledome of Murray was rest from James Crichtoun by the subtill craft of vmquhill William earle of Douglas, and given to Archibald his brother, and he restored the same againe to him. Bot when James Crichtoun perceaved that he could not juse the landis, bot with the hatred of monie gentlmen, he laboured fra hand to denud himself thairof, and pat it in the kingis handis, and his sone thairefter, called George Crichtoun, in recompence thairof, was maid earle of Cathnes. Attour, William Hay, then constable of Scotland, was the first belted earle of Erroll, and also in the same vther convention incorporat to the number of lordis and barronnes in Parliament, and sundrie vther knyghtis, as Darnelie, Haillis, Lyll, and Lorne.

Efter this counsall was dissolved, the king caused raise ane new armie to pas vpoun the commoun enemies of the realme; and first he invaidit Galloway, quhilk was rendrit but ony difficultie, with all the strenthis thairof. Thairefter he past in Douglasdaill, quhair greater crueltie was vsed then in Galloway, and the haill men and guidis tain vp as ane just prey.

be the kingis men of warre, becaus the inhabitants war stubborne, and maid thame to gainstand the kingis auctoritie*. Bot when the

* In the most modern of the MSS. already cited, these incidents are detailed at greater length.

" The xxv. chapter.— Bot when the earle of Douglas lands and men were overthrowne with such calamities, Sir James Hamiltoun, the earle of Douglas familiar servant, was sent to England for support against the king of Scotland, in defence of the earle of Douglas. But he obtained no men but money. The which being obtained, he persuaded the earle of Douglas to offer the king extreame battell. To that effect he caused take up bands and men of warre to the number of thrie hundreth horsmen, and thrie hundreth footmen, to be under the captaine and government of James Hamiltoun, and also he caused seike all clients and familiars, and his tender kindred and friendis, with all them that favoured him in the realme of Scotland at that time, charging them to be readie at the appointed day, to come to him and debate him and his lands against the king when he came to persew him, and speciallie if he seiged Abercorne.

" When the king heard of this perswasione of the earle of Douglas, he was greatlie affeared, thinkand that he had wasted himselfe and his money, and had tyred all his subjects in the persute, hership, and dantoning of the earle of Douglas, the whilk he thought by that extremitie, that he had used toward the earle of Douglas, was occasion if the said earle might be partie to him be any way, that he might give him battell, either be tinsell or wining to put the whole realme in jeopardie; the which the king was verie loath to doe: and so the king was verie pensive in his mynd, what was best to be done in defence contrair the earle of Douglas, whom he

earle Douglas landis war overthrowne with sick calamities, James Lord Hamiltoun, the earle Douglas familiär freind, was sent in Ing-

knew to have so many favourers at that tyme, that it was impossible to be partie to the said earle, if he pleased to rise against him and give him battail. Yet the king devysed ane subtil and craftie meane against the said earle, that is to say, he caused the word gang to the earle of Douglas eares, that he was to passe out of the countrie, and that for fear of the earle of Douglas.

“Thir thingis coming to the earle of Douglas, he was verie rejoiced heereat; and was the slaker in the rising of his men and armie against him, thinking that he should obtaine his purpose, but any battell or ganestanding of the king. But in this meane tyme, the king caused the earle of Orkney, the earle of Angus, with others sundrie barrons and gentlemen, to the number of six thousand men, with provision, to be readie at ane certane day; as he advertised them to passe to the castle of Abercorne, and to seige it.

“In this meane time the earle Douglas, hearing that the king's armie was come to the castle of Abercorne, and was seiging it, he believed surelie that the king had been there himselfe. Therfor he sent and warned all his kinred, and friends, and alyants, and all that would doe for him in Scotland, chargeing them to meet him at Douglas, the tenth day heirafter, with twentie dayes victualls, to passe with him to the castell of Abbercorne, ther to rescue the samine, or els to give the king battell, and cause him either to fight or fle out of Scotland.

“The king hearing this, was stupied in his mind, thinking his armie was over little at that time, to debate against the earle of Douglas, for it was showen to him he would be

land, to desir support againes the kingis majestie, quhen it was refuissed, and seeing no out gaitt, he perswaded the earle

fourtie thowsand men in armour against the king at that time. The king, seing no refuge, passed in ane shipe hastilie to St Andrewes, ther to meet with bishop James Kennedie, and to have his counsell thairunto, showing to him that the earle of Douglas was gathering ane great armie either to fight with him, or to chase him out of the countrie: and alsoe he knew noe support to be had hastilie at that time; therfor he desired his counsell, what he thought best to be done hereintill. This bishop was ane wyse and godlie man, and answered the king in this maner, as after follows, saying, " Sir, I beseech your Grace, that ye take a little meat to refresh you, and I will passe to my orature and pray to God for you, and the comonwealth of this realme and cuntrie. This being spoken, the king passed to his disjoine, and the bishop to his orature to mak his prayer to Almighty God, to open his mouth to give him knowledge and utterance to give that noble prince, who was destitute and comfortles of all good counsell, that he might give him instructione and learning how he should escape that great perrell and danger apparentlie to fall at that time. Then this bishop took the king's grace be the hand, and led him to his orature, beseking him to mak his earnest prayers to the Almighty, that he would strengthen him with his holy spirit, that he might with ane bold courage resist his enemies, who were risen against him contrair the commandement of God, and comonwealth of the cuntrie, beseking God of his mighty power and grace, that he would grant him victorie of thes conspirators and rebellers, who wer risen against him, but any cause made be him, and speciallie that he would grant him

Douglas to gather his haill forces, and to interpryse his recoverie, in sett battell againes the king, and tak the extreme chance of for-

the upper hand of the earle of Douglas, and his complishes, likeas he had done before against him and his oppressors, when they oppressed the commonwealth of the cuntrie. This being done, the king passed in this manner to his devotion, as this holy bishop had commanded him. And after, when the king had ended his prayer to Almighty God, then this bishop, seing the king desolat of good counsell, and dispaired of good hope or success of any victorie to fall to him, contrair his enemies, caused him to passe into his studie, or secreit house, where his bowes and arrowes lay, with other sundrie jewells of the said bishop's."

The remainder of the general narrative proceeds as afterwards given in the text, when describing the character of Bishop Kennedy, but somewhat more diffuse, and also with slight differences in the arrangement. Complete coincidence, indeed, is seldom seen in two manuscripts of unequal antiquity, and, as already observed, all that have occurred to the editor of this volume differ from each other.

It cannot but appear remarkable that a subject should thus be able, on a sudden emergency, to collect a military force, not only sufficient to overawe the sovereign, but exceeding all the troops which he could raise in his defence. Nothing can better prove the inefficient government of Scotland, and the rebellious sentiments of the powerful nobles; and, unless for the interposition of fortuitous circumstances on this occasion, possibly a struggle might have ensued, whether the family of Stewart or Douglas should wear the crown. The

toun, rather than ly in perpetual danger and continewall affliction as they did; for if they gott the vpper hand, they sould have the realme

tumultuous overthrow of royalty is commonly followed by a competition under whom it shall be revived, and in those days the existence of any democratic faction, that is, popular influence, had not been conceived possible in Scotland.

If we are to credit most of our ancient historians, powerful armies could be brought into the field with little warning. But, with them, we cannot deny that thirty and forty thousand seem numbers always ready at command, and we can scarce avoid conceiving that their descriptions are frequently exaggerated. It is difficult to believe, that, in a country said to be so thinly peopled, where agriculture was in infancy, and traffic almost unknown, so great an army as seventy thousand fighting men could be collected on the emergency in question. If that regular progression which we are taught to admit has taken place in the population, we should be prone to conclude that there were hardly so many men in all Scotland fit to bear arms three hundred and fifty years ago, or, if such were actually the case, that it is far from probable four-sevenths of these could be levied by any subject, however potent by alliance or territory.

Yet it must also be considered, that the levies of old were carried to an infinitely greater extent than those of the present day, which cannot fail to influence our opinions; neither had a commander to combat the same difficulties as are now experienced in subsisting an army.

at thair pleasour, with ane houris travell, and if they war overcum, himselff, kine, and freindis, could be no wors nor they war alreadie ;

All men between sixteen and sixty were summoned to attend the sovereign, and each vassal was subject to the command of his immediate overlord, though the whole were bound in service to the king. But the individuals composing this levy were not merely obliged to give personal attendance ; it was necessary that they should come prepared with arms and armour, and a supply of provisions for a certain specified time. Numerous examples occur in the royal proclamations, by which this is diversified, according to the expected duration of the duty, and here we see the adherents of the earl of Douglas attend him with the like means of subsistence. So indispensable a precaution was the provision of the soldier, that an example will soon appear of the total failure of an expedition, where delay occasioned premature consumption of his supply. When exhausted it does not appear that any measures except plunder from the enemy were adopted for its renewal.

From these circumstances, it is evident, that a principal chance of success on the one part, rested in the promptitude of military movements, while, on the other, an enemy was to be enfeebled by protracting the contest. Accordingly, we observe, that so long as the immediate accomplishment of the intended purpose was kept in view, the energy of the troops was greater, and that it declined in proportion as that became more remote.

On considering the manner in which the Scottish levies were made, little doubt can remain that an army was composed

and his enemies should put ane haistie end to all thair caires and labouris, quhilkis had troubled thame so long. For not onlie was

of a tumultuous assemblage of men, for the most part unskilled in warfare; nor were their leaders adapted for much more than predatory incursions on an enemy. Personal prowess was nevertheless effectually substituted for a refined knowledge of military tactics; whence an inferior force was wont to defeat the plans of a more powerful adversary. In contests with the English troops in the field, the superior knowledge of the latter, rendered them in general successful, and in the prosecution of sieges, both parties relied on the skill of foreigners. The besieged seldom submitted without the most determined resistance; nor is this surprising, if we reflect that, by the barbarous usage of antiquity, the punishment of a garrison by a victorious enemy was cruel, in proportion to the vigour of defence. Frequently a brave commander and his comrades were massacred in cold blood!

Like all nations emerging from barbarism, our ancestors were impatient of controul: if matters did not suit their expectation, they considered the bond of allegiance dissolved. As the clans were under their respective leaders, it is not difficult to appreciate the danger to the common cause with which the dissatisfaction of the latter was pregnant. On such occasions, they either evaded approaching in sufficient time, or afterwards sought means to withdraw, when their assistance might be most useful. Severe penalties were therefore attached to either offence. Protracted operations of warfare were utterly adverse to the disposition and incli-

the lord Hamiltoun and his adheerentis dis-
paired of ane better fortoun to cum, but also
the might perceave extreme danger at hand,
throw daylie augmentatioun of the kingis
power, and continewall diminisching of thair
awin power. James, earle of Douglas, inflamed
with thir and vther sicklyk wordis, gathered
his clyandis, kine and freindis, and passed for-
ward with displayed banner, to seik the kingis
armie, lying at the seidge of Abercorne, quhilk
notwithstanding war monie les than the earle
Douglas armie, yitt the exceidit thame far in
strenth and courage, sua that when the battel-
lis war arrayed, standing in otheris sightis,

nation of the inhabitants of Scotland: rapid incursions and
speedy retreats were best adapted to their genius.

Nothing was so injurious to the state as the unremitting
wars of the people, either from internal dissension, or from
contests with the sister kingdom: for the peasantry being
removed from their proper vocation, not only afforded an
opportunity for the destruction of their slender means of
support, but agriculture, on which the subsistence of a na-
tion so essentially depends, was retarded, and rendered abor-
tive. Bands of lawless freebooters besides, arose, who, shel-
tered by the name of their clan, plundered indiscriminately
from friend and foe: and many were at length glad, by vo-
luntary sacrifices, to purchase immunity from their licenti-
ous depredations.

James earle of Douglas perceaved his folkis sumquhat dejected, and dreadfull in countenance; he retired thame back to thair camp, thinkand that they sould be better encouraged to fight vpoun the morne. But this displeased his freindis and principall counsellouris, who war highlie commoved, and declared that his purpose wold be his vtter disadvantage, and should perchance nevir gett so manie in his opinion, semblit in armour againes the king to perform thair purpos; for that, withdrawing of the armie to thair camp againe, should encowrage the kingis men so and mak thamselvis the more feible. And aboue all men it displeased James Lord Hamilton, quhairfoir in the night following he begane to pause and muse with himselff, how throw blind affectioun he had followed and debaited the quarrel so long of James earle Douglas, without richt or reasoun, and being angrie with himselff, he called his dependeris and freindis quyetlie, with whom he passed to the king, and having receaved pardon of his ommissiones, he was restored to the kingis favowris againe, quhilk when the earle Douglas' armie perseaved, they faded away peice and peace, so that

vpoun the morne thairefter, thair appeared nothing in the kingis sight bot plaine fieldis; and albeit the Lord Hamiltoun was forgiven of his offences, yitt the kingis majestie gave him small credit in the beginning, but thairefter sent him to the castle of Rosling to be wairdit with the earle of Orkney, quhill he had won the Castle of Abercorne, quhair he losed manie of his folkis, and sundrie richt evill voundit. But when he did remember that the baill victorie of the Douglassis had fallen to him bot ony blood or strak or sword, throw the disertoun of the lord Hamiltoun, and leiving of thame, he receaved him as apie of his familiar servantis, sua at the last gave his eldest dochter to him in mariage.

But when the earle Douglas vnderstood himself to be destitute, and left of many of his principall freindis, by whose assistance he had interprysed so high matteris contrair the kingis auctoritie, he fled in Ingland with his brother to conqueis himself support, to recover the thing he had lost: and within schort quhyll thairefter, he returned with ane companie in Annerdaill, quhilk was garnished with the kingis men of warre for the tyme, quho mett the said earle Douglas, with his brother and thair assistouris, and fought man-

fullie contrair thame, and put them to flight, In this battell was slaine, Archibald, earle of Murray, with divers vtheris gentlemen and commounes by waiged men : and George, earle of Ormond, efter that he was verrie evill voundit, was tain and keipit in prisone verrie straitlie, quhill he was hailed of his voundis ; and thairefter, brought him to the king at Edinburgh, quhair he was headed for his rebellioun. The earle himself, and John, lord Balvenie, escaped verrie narrowlie through ane wood, quhairin they fled for saftie of thair lyves. It is said, that the adverteiser of this prosperous succes, brought with him Archibald Douglas' head to the king ; quho was receaved be the king with verrie great thankis. Efter this battell, albeit, James, earle of Douglas, was destitute of his kine and friendis, and had lost mainie of thame : nather had he hope of ony support of Ingland. Yitt, nevertheles, evir defiding vpoun guid fortoun, he passed to Donald, lord of the Illes, and earle of Ros, quhom he knew to be ane of proud mynd, and inclyned to wickednes and mischeife, solisted him to him to his opinion, and was participand of his rebellioun. For this Donald gathered ane companie of wicked mis-

cheivous limmeris, and invadit the king on everie part quhairvir he cam, with great crueltie, not spairing old nor young, without regaird of wyffes, or young infantis in the cradle, quhilk would have moved ane hairt to commisseratioun: and brunt villages, tounes, and cornes, and took sick plentie of riches and guidis, that they could not gett the same scarcie carried away. He invadit Argyll in the same maner with the ille of Arrane, quhair of, quhen he had gottin the castle with fraud and guyle, he maid it equall with the ground, and syne he chaced George, bischope of the Illes and Ardgyle, and slew sundrie of his freindis and servantis, and himself escaped narrowlie be flieing to ane strength. Att the last, he past to Lochmabane, and out of that to Murray, quhair he invadit with no lese crueltie nor he did befor: and speciallie quhair thair was any favourer of the kingis majestie. Attour, he distroyed and brunt the toun and castle of Innernes, and this he did not so meikle to pleas and gratifie the earle of Douglas, as he did rejoyce to foster mischeife and wickednes, to the quhilk he was given allanerlie. Quhilkis, when sick cruell war and dissentioun rang in Scotland, the king of Ing-

land perceaving comodious opportunitie to tak the advantage, as himself and his predecessouris vont evir to doe befor since the ille of Britiane was inhabited, commandit that his borderis should be brokin, and incursionis to be maid: quhilk was done at his command, but knowlege of the Scottismen, quho having no suspitione of forraine nationes, war spoiled of thair bestiall; cornes and houses destroyed and brunt; and sundrie gentlmen and commounes hurt and slaine for the defence of thair guides and geir: sua we perceaved, that Ingland had not forgott old quarrelis vpoun ane small regaird, when the saw any appeirand vantage to have beine maisteris. And be the contrair, they war faine to thig and crave peace and guid will of the Scottismen, when thair was peace and vnitie amongst the nobles, leiving vnder the subjection and obedience of ane furthie and manlie prince. But albeit that the king of Scotland perceaved that the realme was overgaine with civill warres on the ane pairt, and that it sould be both skaith and schame to him on the vther part, to thoall sick high injuries without remeid, zitt he dissembled till ane tyme more gainand, to be revengit vpoun his enemies.

Att this tyme, Beatrix Douglas, maidin of Galloway, sieing nothing to cum vpoun hir pretendit husband James earle of Douglas, bot vreak, shoe fled to the king cryand mercie for hir offences, laying the wytte vpoun the said James, hir husband, and hir wicked counsallouris and flattereris, who had not onlie fylled hir in making of that wiked mariage, but also against hir will constrained hir to doe the same; sua being destitut of all guid counsallouris and assistouris, could not gainstand such ane pairtie; quhilk now having opportunitie, said she, of the earles absence, to flie the societie of ane wicked and vngodlie lyfe, cam to seik the kingis protection and remissioun for hir bygane offences, quhilk was ane cryme committed vpoun necessitie, rather than of sett purpose. The king, efter he had forgiven this gentlwoman and receaved hir in his favoures, he married hir vpoun his brother, Johne earle of Atholl, the blak knyght of Lorne's sone, and tochered hir with the lordschip of Balvenie: quhilk when the earle of Ros' wayff vnderstood the king to be sum pairt favourable to all that sought his grace, shoe fled also vnder his protectione, to eschew the cruell tyrannie of hir husband,

quhilk shoe dredit sumtymes befor. The king called to remembrance that this voman, was married not be hir awin counsall, to Donald of the Illes; he gave hir also sufficient landis and leiving, quhairon shoe might leive according to hir estate.

Not long efter this, Patrick Crichtoun, ane of the kingis own court, who was ane favourer of the Douglas factione, cruellie without any ruth, slew Johne Sandelands of Cather and ane Allane Stewart besyd Dumbartane, becaus they war the kingis adhearentis: quhilk was not long vnpunished; for his majestie vsed sick diligence, quhill he apprehendit the tyrrant and his complices, and put thame to dead as they deserved.

Schortlie efter this, sundrie of the nobles and great men deceist, sick as Williame earle of Errol, constable of Scotland; George Crichtoun earle of Caithnes, who being vext with great infirmities, becaus he had no sones to succed in his place, he resigned the landis quhilk he gott to him and his aires maill onlie, in the kingis awin handis, sieing thair was no lyffe for him. The landis should have fallin to the croun efter his decease. Sir William Crichtoun, sumtyme chancellour, deceast

this same yeir, ane man of great forsicht, and singular manhood, ane faithfull subject, and ane sicker targe to the commounweill, to his lyves end : And als Alexander earle of Crawford, of whom mentioun was maid of befoir ; in whose rowme David his sone succedit, ane of the noblest in those dayes. And many otheris nobles and gentlemen whose names war tedious to rehearse.

Not long efter this, Hendrie Pearsie, earle of Northumberland, and James earle Douglas, who was latlie forfalt, entred in the borderis with ane great armie, both of Scottis and Inglismen, and waisted all with fire and sword quhairvir they cam : quhill at the last, the earle of Angus mett thame with ane companie of chosin men, and pat thame to flight ; for when the armies war fightand most cruellie, with vncertane victorie, ane great pairt of the Inglismen, not small in estimatioun, greidie for geir and prey, more nor for honour or fear of their lyves, begane to spoyll and dryve away thair enemies horsis and guidis, and left thair nighbouris in battell, voyd of support, quhilk maid ane facill and path way that day, to obtaine the victorie. In this battell war slaine of the Inglismen to the number of four-scoir ; and threscoir and ten gentlemen takin

captives, with otheris that war taine in skirmishing befor the chok of the battell. When this victorie was told to the king, and how the Inglismen had vaisted so meikle vpoun the borderis, bot ony occasione or break of him to Ingland, he was verie sorie that the realme had beine ouerthrown in itself with discord and civill warres, and himselff troublet day be day, that he might not guidlie be revengit of thair saikles injuries and incursions. Attour, it offendit him most of all, that his enemies raged more and more in their insolencie, and that he was compassed with rebellione on everie syd; so that he could not interpryse to requyt thair invasiones without great loss of men and guidis, and putting the realme to extream danger. In the mean tyme, when the king was musing vpoun this purpose, Donald earle of Ros, and lord of the Illes, sent messengeris to his majestie, to be remitted of all offences and rebellion that he had done, thinking weill that he was so merciful to the earle of Crawford, that he would be no lese mercifull to him; bot he wold not put himselffe in perrill as Crawford did, and thairfoir sent one of his most speciall freindis, who obtained his remissioun, pairtlie throw the kingis humanitie, and pairtlie throw the requestis of

sum of the nobles of the realme. Bot the kingis majestie led the matter verie craftilie, and fand the moyane how he wold not openlie and plainlie forgive at that present, the wicked and treasonable deadis of this wicked tyrant; nor yitt wold he mak the messengeris despair of thair cheife remissioun: bot answered thame verie craftilie and gentlie; holding thame in hope; saying, that the earle of Ros nevir deserved to be remitted at his hand, for his crueltie and rebellion, latlie committed, yit nevertheles, since all men on earth, and speciallie kingis and princes, that representis the divyne majestie of God, who of his unspeakable goodnes, receaves man in the bosome of his mercie, so soone as he repentis him of his sine, not for any guid dead that man can doe to recompence him; who should thirst no manis blood, bot to be gracious and mercifull to all that ar becum penitent of thair trespassis, yitt becaus it perteanes allanerlie to God, to know the invard thoughtis and heartis of men, nor that manes nature cannot perceave fardder nor he sies be outward tokines and signes, and thairfoir he wold the earle of Ros doe sum notable act quhairby all men should perceave and understand that he repented intirelie with his heart, befoir he should

receave full remissioun of all offences. Attour, that the earle of Ros should refound: all the skaith of tounes, fortalices, and villages, that he had either brunt or casten down, and to restore the guidis and geir to everie man, that he had takin away. This being done, the earle of Ros should be remitted, and his complices, of all offences bygane.

Sum the north isles being sett at rest, the king sett his haill cure to invaid Ingland, and aither to be revengit, or els requytted of all oppressiones. And to bring his purpose more easie to effect, he ordained quhat way this should be done most commodiouslie. Bot behold, during the tyme of this conventioun, thair cam ane ambassadour from Richard, Duck of York, Edward Mortimer earle of Warwick, with thair confederatis, to seek support of men of warre, contrair Hendrie, king of Ingland, quhom they purposed to depose of his royall dignitie, albeit this Hendrie, throw his awin sleuth and negligence, and wicked counsell, had lost France and Normandie, quhilk his forbearis had conquest to his hand, Yitt he tuik matteris so high and desperat, that almost misterred the consultation of great and noblmen, whom it behoved to spend thair lyves and landis for the recovering thair of: he

admitted no such men to his counsell, bot extolled slaves and men of small estate, be reason they could flatter him, and that was delectable to his conceit : and preferred thame to the administratioun and government of the commounweill befor all nobles and gentlmen of the realme, quhois manheid and deadis spred throw all the world : and war comoved to conspyre and conveyne thamselffis againes him to depryve him of the croun ; speciallie the noblmen of the kingis hous, to whom the just title of the croun of Ingland appertained ; quhilk befell thrid sone to Edward, lawfull air to Richard the Second, that of his bodie war destroyed and put down be Henrie the Feird. So now, at this present, the duik of York, thinkand that he had better occasioun to recover the croun nor Hendrie the Feird had to releive the same fra Richard the Second, and Leonellis posteritie adjoyned thamselffis in conspiracie with thir noblmen, be whose moyane and assistance he purposed to recover his richt and heritage, that had beine haldin and rest so long from him and his forbearis. Becaus they war not equall, nather in riches nor power, within thamselffis, they sent to the king of Scotland, promeisand perpetuall freindschip, with great rewardis, if

they brought thair purpose to effect. Sua, when the ambassadour gatt presence of the kingis majestie, in sicht of the lordis and earles conveyed for the tyme, the principall of thame made his harring in maner following.

“ How wicked and vngodlie a thing it is, most mightie and invincible prince, to place ane ignorant in hie estat and reginent of ane countrie. How can it be that a man who cannot guid himselff, sall wyslie guid vtheris? Be the confrair, how necessar thing it is, ane wyse and potent prince have the rulling over ane realme, quhair of we have the experience both in our dayes, by divers manner of wayes. For all kingis and princes, most redoubted prince, marvellis of thy craft and wisdom, who, being but ane young man, or rather ane chyld, hes sett and put to rest the realme of Scotland, without great slauchter and effusioun of blood, be ane excellent witt and divine knowledge and providence, quhilk, in thy minoritie, was wreakit and divydit be the sedition and factiones of potent men within the samyne. Sua we most, of verrie force, grant the felicitie and happie progres of all thy doeingis befor we enter to intreat into vther matteris. Thairfoir we pray that the prospe-

rous beginning may indure for evir. Bot our king Hendrie, how vnlyklie is he to thy manneris and conditiones, and how far different from thy vsage and governance of ane realme, and how he does behave himselfe, as it is vnknown to thy majestie. For the ignorance of that man, infected and corrupted with everie evill counsall and flatterie, not onlie is the croun and flourishing fame of Ingland suppressed and turned to scorne, bot also ane great pairt of the impyre and dominion of France, yea nothing inferior to the realme of Ingland, quhilk was conquiest be our forbearis, tint and lost. Since so it is that we are oppressed with slaves, quhilk the king hes preferred, nobles of this realme lightlied and sett a syd, from base estate to high dignitie, who, being placed in his auctoritis, hes sicker power over the nobilitie, that they dare scarce compleane, or seik justice for any offence, or to give counsall quhat war best to be done for the preservatioun of the commounweill, quhilk the nobles of the realme cannot suffer longer, sieing it is contrair the commounweill: and als being suffered, sall bring vs to vreak, and our inhabitantes to vtter exterminatioun. Sua it shall pleas yow to understand, most victorious prince, that takis no vndoubtit nor new

purpose in hand, in depyrying ane and putting another in his place. For our noble progenitouris and forbearis debarred Hendrie the Thrid's sone, called Edward Crookbak, from the crowne, becaus he was not so lustie, nor of so guid ane dispositioun of his bodie as was thought expedient for ane prince to attempt sick high matteris as was than adoe, albeit he was ane man of guid witt and ingyne, to whom laifullie the crowne apperteaned. Nevirtheles, the realme having scharp wares in France, thought expedient, for the government of the impyre, to chuse ane man, not onlie wyse in mynd, bot also ane man of guid personage and manlie spirit, etc. for this purpose. Then Edward, younger brother to this man, of singular courage, and of no lese craft and wisdom nor his brother, Edward, and in bewtie more excellent, and aboue all men of the realme in strongnes and abilitie, the lordis maid him king, and debarred this Edward. So may appear how meikle wisdom and manheid be requyred in ane persone who beires the chaarge over the commounweill, and speciallie to our realme of England, quhilk, be the negligence of ane Inglisch prince, is lyk to lose that quhilk our forbearis conquiest in France. Atour, how damnable a thing it is, to have ane

ignorant captane of warre, destitute of all guid counsall, the unhappie mischance will bear witnes of the lose and tinsall of the forsaidis landis of France, quhik was Inglandis befoir. And sicklyk, in peace to have ane foolish prince, corrupted and led away with flattereris and wicked counsall. Not onlie know we that he is dangerous, bot also hes wexed Scotland with civill warres, as yow may have experience, quhilk hes beine oft so wexed and spoylled, when Hendrie of Ingland knew that thy majestie might not waitt vpoun France warres. Quhairfor, we exhort your majestie, to enarme your selff for this effect, not onlie for our caus, bot for your awin cause, and to revenge the injuries that Scotland hes sustained, evir to be revengit vpoun the principall authouris off oppressioun. How honest, and necessar, thairfoir, is the ground and quarrell of our intentioun, be thir reasons forsaid, may easilie be vnderstood. Now, lett ws sie how easilie this may be brought to pas without great slauchter, if yea pleas to support ws, and quhat reward salbe thairfor, quhilk being declared, we sall schortlie mak ane end; and I desir to know of quhat strength and power the king of Scotland is, and than quhat is the thing that we may doe, and than

I believe the matter salbe manifest to wa all. When the realme of Ingland did flourish in chivalrie, and all that hail boundis and domi-
 niones, quhilkis our predicessouris, with thair
 conquaist, did augment thairto, was not dimi-
 nished, and now, since we have losed the
 landis within France, quhilkis without the
 help of Scotland we dispair to recover againe,
 in so far, that if any of the factiounes of Ing-
 land may gett the support of any forrane
 prince, the vther easilie should be overthrowen.
 Attour, thair was never seditioun nor discord
 till now of latt in the realme of Ingland, bot
 it touched ws all as ane: bot since all was
 sleuthed, thair was no mischiefe could befall
 our king, bot was delyvered vnto ws; and the
 hail nobilitie so long waxed and irked with
 the tyranie of king Hendrie, to lous tham-
 selffis of the yok of thraldome, hes taine pur-
 pose to surrogatt Richard, duk of York, in
 his royall place. For our factioun far sur-
 montes the kingis assisteris, both in nobilitie
 and wisdom: and albeit, we doubt of the po-
 pularie, quhilk, appearandlie to the eyis of
 man, favoures the kingis partie, and yitt they
 are so variable, that they desir no more nor
 ane grutt man that wold begin the warren: as
 may be weil knowin of Hendrie of Inland,

quhen he gave the commonnes to vnderstand, that fra thair libertie was rest fra thame be the avaritious greidines of courtiouris, if they wold assist his interpryse, quhilk was taine in hand be this Hendrie's perswasioun, as is manifest to this whole ille: and had taine effect bot doubt, if the subtile craft of the chancelar with fraud and guyle, had not schortlie stanchèd the samyne: Yea, in so far, that now presentlie, we schould have this matter nather to begine nor end. Finallie, that we mak an end of the thing we have begune, now we cum, most reuerend prince, to get support, promising with renewis thairfor, which the duik of York and the earle of Warwick, with the adwyce of the rest of the nobilitie, and thair opinion, hes commandit ws to promise to thy majestie, if thow wilt assist thame: and quhat boundis and landis your Grace predicessouris possest sumtyme in Northumberland, with Barvick, and vther landis adjacent thairto, for reward and recompence. And last of all, ane perpetuall band of amitie to be bund vp betwixt the two realmes, and to remaine as aye, and so to indure for evir."

Quhen the ambassadour had endit this har-
ring in this maner, the king causèd him to re-

move, quhill he had consulted vpoun ane answer. And when the king had adwysed with the nobles, the ambassadour cam againe, and the king said in this maner. "It is not vnknowin to ws the just tittle that the duik of York hes to the crown of England: bot the assistance of my realme should not be givin nor grantit temerariouslie, nor for ane light cans, without great travell and deliberatioun, and tryall of the cans. Bot that I referrè to the wisdome and conventioun of the nobilitie of England; and as for armes and forces, be assured, that I have just caus to denunce warre to the king of England. First, sieing he did wex my realme and leidges saikleslie with incursiones, the time when the samyne was perturbed with civill warres. Then also, when I did seik redres, king Hendrie refuissed to give, and delayed his answer thairvpoun. Thairfoir, if the duik of York, the earle of Warwick, and with the rest of the nobilitie of the factioun, will keip promiseis, they salbe assured, that my haille strength and forces salbe in readines to invaid your kingis favoureris with fire and sword, quhair evir I cum, and sal doe my ytter diligence to expell king Hendrie, and restore the duik of York to his awin place."

So when the ambassadouris had receaved thair answeris, and faithfull promeisses givin and taine on everie syd, they departed; and reported the kingis answer to the duik of York, and the earle of Warwick.

In this mean tyme, the king of Scotland commandit, be oppin proclamatioun, all men to be in readines vpoun ane certane day, with armour and victuallis, to invaid thair old enemies with fyre and sword. But behold the quyet and accustomed deceitt of Ingland. Quhen the king was passand fordward, as he had promiseid, to invade thame, ane Inglis-man mett thame be the way, who favoured the king of Ingland most intyrlie, perfyte in the Italiane tongue, who could weill lie, flatter, and dissemble, with ane hard and peart countenance; instructed be king Hendrie with billis and commissionnes, as if they had beine send from the Pope of Rome: and in his companie, ane monk who did counterfeitt ane marvellous gravitie, and ane hollines, who said it was the Pope's will, that nather the king of Scotland, nor nane of his companie, sould pas any fardder to invaid Ingland, vnder the paine of cursing and censur of the halie kirk; for throw this dissentione, says he, of Christiane princes, the Turkis, cruell ene-

mies to Godis word, creipis in mair: and mair in Europe. By thair tyrannie, they have subdened ane gritt pairt thair of to thair dominiones and impyre. Thairfoir, lett all warres be set asyd, and peace establisched among Christiane men. Moreover, said he, it is ordained, that all men adrese thame selfis for expelling of the commoun enemye, who wold not onlie expell thame of thair friedome and libertie, bot also of the word of God, quhilk is the most pretious thing on earth: and to bring all discord rigneand in the Ill of Brittain, the more easilie to ane guid end. Thair be vther ambassadours, sayes he, directed from the Pope to the king of Ingland, to repair all injuries done be him to the duik of York, and that all quarrellis and debaites betwixt thame be finallie aggried.

King James, beleiving no deceit in this fraudfull fellowis sayingis, obeyed the charge, and skailled his armie. But scantlie was he cum home, when he perceaved the craft and subtiltie of his enemies dewysed against him, so being penitent of his facile obedience, he gathered ane new armie, and passed forward vpoun his enemies.

In this meane tyme, the duik of Yorkis armie, quhair of ane great pairt cam with the

earle of Warwick, passed in arrayed battie, contrair king Hendrie, without any expectation of the Scottismenis cuming : and vpon the vther syd, the kingis adheerentis met thame verrie stoutlie, quhois principall chiftanes vnder the king war, the duik of Somersaitt, Bukinghame, and the earle of Cliffurd. It was verrie manfullie foughtin on both sydis, bot at last the kingis armie was vanquished and overcum, and himself tane prisoner, and had to London, and his thrie chiftanes forsaidis war slaine, with many vtheris gentlmen and commounes. Soone efter this victorie, when he cam to London, thair was ane convention, quhair the haill nobilitie agried on that head, that the king schould not be depryved at that tyme of his royall office and estat : but that his wicked counsallooris and flattereris, as the verrie corrupteris of his guid ingyne, should rather be put to dead, or els sequestrat from his companie, and be banished the realme, and himself to be keipit firmlic quibill fardder consultatioun. For it appeired verrie vnlesum to many of the counsall, not onlie to put hand in ane living prince, bot also to reive the honorabill impyre from the annoynted of God, to quhom the realme once had given thair oath of fidelitie: for, in so doing, they

could be compelled, als ane conjured people, to chuse ane vther in his place, and thairfoir concludit, that the duik of York schould be governour of the realme, during the kingis lyf tyme, and als the earle of Warwick was maid captane of Caleise, which was than of the auctoritie among the Inglismen, the earle of Sarisberrie, great chancellour of the realme; and sua it was done, quhill fardder consultation in all affaires might be had.

In this meane tyme the king invalidit the king of Inglandis favoureris in the north, with all crueltie, and when he had wone the toun of Roxburgh, quhilk the Inglismen had than ingarnished with men and munitioun, and kest doun the same to the ground, he seiged the castle thairof, and, quhill he was most busie, ambassadouris cam from the duik of York and the earle of Warwick, with the rest of the factioun, showand the victorie that was thairis, and thanked him for his guidwill and readines, promeising to doe the lyk to his majestie, when occasioun should befall: praying him to desist from the seidge, and not to molest the realme of Ingland, sieing God hath granted the victorie to thame, in so far that they war maisteris over the realme: vtherwayes that he wold exasperat thame of Ingland to

vraithe and ire, who alreadie would have invaid-
it the Scottis armie, war not the greater obstacle
and impediment. The king answeired, that he
was glaid of thair prosperous succes and victo-
rie that had befallin the duik of York, but did
marvell how it could be that he could be offen-
dit, or the nobilitie of Ingland, sieing he had
done nothing bot that quhilk they had most
effectuouslie desired him vnto. Attour, when
the king desired the promise to be fulfilled
quhilk was maid to him, the ambassadouris
said they had no commission to answer thair-
vnto: att the quhilk the king was so highlie
offendit, that he refused thair bandis and kynd-
nes alluterlie as vnworthie of credit, bot alto-
gidder fals and dissembled, and albeit they
discordit in sum affaires, yitt they aggrieyed
altogidder in trumperie and falshood, and
thairfoir said to the ambassadoures in this ma-
ner. " Albeit the duik and his conjured fac-
tioun be proud and insolent of this victorie
laitlie obtained, quhair throw they disdaine to
keip thair promise maid to me, yitt nevir-
theles, with Godis grace, I salbe avengit on all
injuries done to me, or to my realme, as I
have determinat of befoir, that the ambassa-
douris solisted for that effect, not knowing than
thair subtill deceit, and also salbe revengit on

this injurie, quhilk is most of all, in violating most vnworthelie thair solemne promiseis and oathis, quhilkis the saidis ambassadouris promeist to me in thair names." Sua the ambassadouris depairtit with this answeir. Than the king commandit the souldiouris and men of warre to assault the castle ; but the Inglis-men defendit so manfullie within, that the siege appeired longer to indure nor was believed : quhairthrow the king was determined to compell thame within the hous, be long tarrie, to render and give it over. Att quhilk tyme, Donald of the Illes, whom we spak of befor, came to the seidge with ane great armie of men, all armed in the Highland faschione, with halbershownes, bowis, and axis, and promised to the king, if he pleased to pas any fardder in the boundis of Ingland, that he and his companie should pas ane lairge myll befor the hoast, and tak vpoun thame the first preas and dint of the battell. The king, efter he had receaved him with great humanitie, said to him, that he wold vse the counsall of the nobilitie in all progres of warres, and rejoyced meikle that Donald was so readie to jeopard himself and his freindis for the defence of the commounweill. Efter this he bad him stent his pavillions a litle by himself,

quhill fardder occasioun served to doe as he desired. This Donald obedient at command, efter he had takin the place to him and his folkis that war thair present for the tyme; he sent out sundrie of his men to spoyll and hirrie the countrie about the camp, sieing the seidge lasted longer nor they beleived: for, albeit a gritt pairt of the keiparis of the hous war perished and tint for hunger, and the rest straitlie oversett be the seidgeris, yitt, nevirtheles they perseveired so straitlie without regaird of thair adverseris, that the persewaris war almost tint with the long seidging, quhill the cuming of Alexander, earle of Huntlie, who brought a great companie of stout and chosin men with him, quhilk made the king so blyth that he commandit to chairge all the gunes, and give the castle ane new volie. But quhill this prince, more curious nor became the majestie of ane king, did stand near hand by, quhair the artylliarie wer dischairged, his thigh bone was dung in tuo be ane peice of ane misframed gune, that brak in the schutting: be the quhilk he was strukin to the ground, and died hastilie thairefter: quhilk greatumlie discouraged his wholl nobles and servandis that war standing about him. Bot he commandit all that knew of his misfortoun

to keip silence, incace it being devulgit, it should discourage the souldiouris and men of warre, that they should schamfullie dissolve the seidge. Bot how soone the queine hard tell of this mischeife, shoe tuik hir young sone, called James, efter his father, the Thrid of that name, and brought him, with ane stout courage, evin representand the Almanes and Gildreanes courage, of quhom shoe was discendit, albeit no man of the hoast supponed nothing of hir bot mourning and lamenting for hir husband. Sua, by all menis expectatioun this noble princes cam, with an stout courage and countenance, and exhorted all true Scottis-men to beir furth the seidge quhill alther the castle should be rendrit or overcum be strong hand, saying in this maner to thame: "I pray yow most valiant campiones, now sieing yea have brought this matter neir ane end, that yea will not tyne the great tyme and labouris quhilkis yea have spendit thairvpoun, and not schamfullie to leive that which yea have begune altogidder with on consent; and thairfoir latt not the mischance of onlie one man break yow of your courage, or yitt thairby to cast doun your gentle heartis, or mak to dispair, and sieing this chance is not knawin to the rest, that yea would bear guid counte-

nance, sua that non of thame may know the same be ony signe of sadnes, quhilk salbe onawayes better hid from the armie, nor by your stout perseveirance in the pursuitt of your enemies, with als guid will as yea begane. Forward, thairfoir, my guid lordis, and latt not your selffis appear in vomenis personages, lamentand for any misfortoun of the world that is naturall, for that becumes wayffes rather then men, to be casting to and fro the fortoun of adversitie of this fragill world! Quhat is this yea ar doeing? rather should yea comfort me, being ane wayff, than I yow. I beseich yow that yea nevir turne your bakis from the seidge, vnto the tyme yea have maid ane end thairrof." Throw thir wordis the chiftanes war not so meikle moved with the queines couragious wordis, as aschamed of ane vomanis hardiment, quhilk far surmonted aboue thair awin, and thairfoir was compelled, vpoun thair honoures, to pursew thair enemies to the vttermost of thair power. And that they should not be ane headles people, without ane king, they tuik the kingis eldest sone, king James, and maid him king James the Thrid. Efter the quhilk the Inglismen might not long endure the seige, sieing thair was no hope of releive nor comfort. So, efter

they had givin over the same, the keiparis thairof war lattin pas, with bag and baggage, and frie with thair lyyes ; and the castle castin down to the ground, leist it should have beine ane strenth to Inglismen againes Scottismen thairefter, quhilk was done in August, in the yeir of God 1460 yeires, and the twentie nynt yeir of king James the Secondis aige, efter that he had rigned twentie thrie yeires.

It is said that thair was many marvellis about this tyme, that prognosticat the kingis death. The night befoir his deceas thair appeared ane cleir comet. In the yeir preceiding thair was one borne, quhilk had the memberis both of male and female, called in oure language ane scratch, in whom manes nature did prevail, bot becaus his dispositioun and proportioun of bodie represented ane voman, he being in ane manes hous, in Linlithgow, and so associating in bedding with the guidman of the hous his dochter, maid hir to conceive with chylde ; quhilk being devulgit throw the countrie, and the matrones vnderstanding this damosell deceived in this manner, being offendit that this monster tratour should sett him forth as ane voman, being ane verrie man, they gatt him accused in judgment, to be brunt quick for his schamfull behaviour.

About this tyme thair was ane briggant tane, with his haill familie, quho haunted a place in Angus. This mischeivous man had ane execrable fascione to tak all young men and childrene aither he could steall away quietlie, or tak away without knowledge, and eat thame, and the younger they war, esteemed them the more tender and delituous. For the quhilk caus, and dampable abuse, he with his wayff and bairnes, war all brunt, except ane young wench of a yeir old, wha was saiffed, and brought to Dundie, quhair shoe was brought vp and fosterred, and when shoe cam to ane vomanes yeires, shoe was condemned and brunt quick for that cryme. It is said, that when shoe was cuming to the place of execution, thair gathered ane hudge multitud of people, and speciallie of vomen, cursing hir that shoe was so unhappie, to committ so damnable deidis. To quhom shoe turned about, with an irefull countenance, saying, "Quhairfoir chyd yea with me, as if I had committed ane vnworthie act; give me credance and trow me, if yea had experience of eating men and vomenis flesh, yea wold think it so delituous, that yea would nevir forbear it againe." So bot ony signe of repen-

tance, this vnhappie traitour died in the sight of the people.

About this tyme thair was many cunning men, be whose vertewes letteris flowrished, quhilkis war almost perished be the barbarous crueltie of the Gothis: sick as Laurentius Vala, ane gentlman of Rome, who did great guid in the restitutioun of the Latine tongue, as his workis does witnes. Siclyk Franciscus Philephus, and Petriarcha, both singular guid oratouris: and Nicolas Pirotus who sett his wholl studie to abolich the old rud maner of leichment and to garnisch and teach the youth with eloquent language, in all kyndis of sciencies: Theodore Gaza, ane cunning and expert man, with manie otheris whose names war tedious to rehearse.

HEAR BEGINES THE CRONICLES OF SCOTLAND,
OF THE DEADIS AND ACTIS OF KING JAMES
THE THRID, AND QUHAT HAPPENED IN HIS
TYME.

JAMES the Second vnhappilie slaine in this manner forsaide, as we have schowin, Margaret his wayff continewed still at the seidge evir exhorting the lordes and barones to be stout till the samyne war won; and to that effect shoe brought hir young sone king James the Thrid, to remaine at the seige with the lordistill the castle was won. Yitt he was bot of tender aige, and could vse no vasselage; bot his cuming encouraged the people so, that the forgot the death of his father, and past manfullie to the hous, and wan the same, and justified* the captane thairof, and kest it down to the

* Put to death.

ground that it should not be ane impediment to thame thairefter.

Soone efter this, thair was ane conventioun sett at Scoone, quhair queine mother, with the rest of the nobilitie conveyed, and thair crouned hir sone king James the Thrid, being sewin yeires of aige, and thairefter was delyvered to Bischope Kennedie, in keiping, to learne letteris at the scooles.

At this tyme, George Douglas earle of Angus was wairden of the borderis, and oftymes defendit the same manfullie, quhairthrow he was maid lievetennent both be the queine and counsall, to pas with the wholl bodie of the realme in defence of the borderis; and efter ane little quhill the Homes gathered with the Hepburnes, with the support of Lowdian men, and passed to Wark, and kest doun the same. Thairefter the Inglismen took peace with Scotland, for fisteine yeires, quhilk was granted to thame be the counsall of bischop James Kennedie, quho helped weill to governe the realme during his dayes. But the speciall caus of so great tranquillitie and peace in Scotland was, becaus the Inglismen had warres within thaimselfis daylie, stryveand for the auctoritie and croun of Ingland, betuixt the

duik of York and king Hendrie the Sixt, quho within ane schort quhill efter, desired ane conduct for his wayff and eldest sone, and certane of thair kine and freindis, conteaneand the number of a thousand men, to remaine ane quhyll in Scotland at his pleasour, quhilk conduct was granted to him be the king and counsall, and was weill receaved, and remained in the Grayfreires of Edinburgh, so long as he pleased. Not long efter this, the queine of Ingland past in France, for shoe was ane French voman, and many of the nobles passed with hir, and king Hendrie at this tyme gave Barvick to the Scotismen, for his support and intertainment, quhilk he gatt in Scotland at that tyme.

In this mean tyme, bischop James Kennedie guydit the king and counsall in guid vnitie and peace, quhairthrow the commounweill flourished greatumlie. He foundit ane triumphand colledge in Sanct Androis, called Sanct Salvitouris colledge, quhairin he maid his lear verrie curiouslie and coastlie, and also he biggit ane schip called the bischopis barge, etc. and when all thrie wer compleit, to witt, the colledge, the lair and the barge, he knew not quhilk of thrie was costliest; for it was rekoned for the tyme, be honest men of consi-

derratioun, that the least of the thrie, cost him ten thousand pund sterling.

In this meane tyme, Hendrie the Sixt depairted out of Scotland towardis Ingland, and schortlie efter he was taine be king Edward and put in prison. Att this tyme the king of France sent ane captane called Petir Bruce, hearing that the king was put in prisone, as said is, with certane support to king Hendrie, but or he cam he was taine be king Edward. Thairfoir the said Captane Bruce tuik ane castle in the north pairt of Ingland, callit Annick, and thair thought to defend himselfe manfullie, quhill he gatt support. Bot Edward the new king hearing of his intent and provisioun, caused ane armie cum and seidge the castle. The said Captane Bruce knowing no releive to cum to him hais-tilie, send to the counsall of Scotland desiring tham to releive him; or elis to skail the seidge, promising to thame to caus the king of France, his maister, refound thame the coastis, skaith, and dampnage susteaned be thame, in the said caus. George earle of Angus, wairdin of the borderis, and great leivtennent, incontinent raised an armie of Scottismen, to the number of twentie thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsmen, and when he was mairching near the

castle, he chosed out ten thousand men of the best of his armie, and passed to the said castle on swift horsis, as it had beine ane forrey, and caused the rest of his armie cum in sight of the castle in arrayed battell, as ane staill, in caice it had chanced the Inglismen to give thame battell. But incontinent the Inglismen war so affrayed with the suddene cuming of the Scottis, that they skailled the seidge, and gave him place, quhill he releived the said captane of France, and brought him saife in Scotland, and thair put him to libertie to pas in France with his companie as he pleased.

In the yeir of God 1463 yeires, Margaret, queine of Scotland, and dochter to the Duik of Gildar, depairted at Edinburgh, and was buried in the Trinitie Colledge, quhillk shoe built hir selff, efter her husbandis deceas, king James the second. This queine was verrie wyse and vertuous in hir husbandis tyme: bot soone efter his deceas, shoe knawing hir selff to be regent and governour of the realme, sieing all men to obey hir, and non to controll hir, shoe became to be leicherous of hir bodie, and tuik Abraham Hepburne of Haillis, who had ane wayff of his awin, and committed adulterie with him, quhillk caused hir to be lightlied of all the nobilitie of Scotland; sieing

shoe saw so many earles, lordis, and barones sones in Scotland, frie of marriage, and would not have desired thame to satisfie hir lust, bot tuik ane vther wayffes husband to satisfie hir vnochast appetite.

This same yeir, Alexander, duik of Albanie, and brother to king James the Thrid, was sent to France, to learne the language and vther letteris, directed be bischop James Kennedie of St Androis. The said Alexander, and his schip was taine be Inglismen, quho was hais-tilie delyvered to the supplicatioun of bischop James Kennedie, for the said bischop promeist to the counsall of Ingland, that thair schould be no peace keipit, if the said Alexander and his schipes war not restored againe, the quhilk was done immediatlíe at his desir. For the Inglismen had sick civill warres within thaimselfis, that they durst not break peace with Scotland.

In the yeir of God 1466 yeires, bischop James Kennedie departed out of this present lyfe, and was burried in Sanct Androis, in the colledge quhilk himselff foundit. This bischop Kennedie was vondrous godlie and wyse, and was weill learned in divine sciences, and practised the same to the glorie of God, and weill of his church; for he caused all persones

and vicares to remaine at thair parochie kirkis, for the instructions and edifieing of thair flock, and caused thame preach the word of God to the people, and visit thame that war seik ; and also the said bischope visited every kirk within the diocie, four tymes in the yeir, and preached to the said parochin him selfe the word of God, and inquyred of thame if they war dewlie instructed be thair persone and viccar, and if the poore war susteaned, and the youth brought vp, and learned according to the ordour that was taine in the kirk of God ; and quhair he found not this ordour keipit, he maid great punischment, to the effect that Godis glorie might shyne in his diocie: leiving guid example to all archbischopis and kirk men to caus the patrimonie of Godis word to be vsed to his awin glorie, and to the commonweill of the poore. Fardder, he was ane man weill learned in the civill lawis, and had practised the same, so that he was most able of any in Scotland, aither spirituall or temporall to give ane wyse counsall, and speciallie in Parliament, or when embassadouris craved thair intentis, was non so meitt as he to have answered thame. Or whan any civill insurrection was in the countrie, and speciallie les

majestie againes the kingis awin persone, quhairin he was weill practised, for he gave counsall to king James the Second, when he was ready to depairt out of Scotland, for feare of the earle Douglas, who was gathered againes him, to the number of fourtie thousand men, readie to give him battell, or elis to chase him out of Scotland. Notwithstanding, this guid bischope, sieing this noble prince desolat of all counsall, and dispairred of any guid hope or succes of victorie to fall to him over his enemies, caused this noble prince cum to St Androis or his depairtur, and gave him such counsal as efter followis : That is, he had him to ane oratour*, and desired him to mak his supplicatioun to Almighty God, that he might opin his eyis, that he might have the wisdom and strenth to dantoun his conspiratouris, quhilkis was rissen vp againes him, contrair to the law of God and man, and contrair the commounweill of the realme. Quhen they had both ended thair supplicationes and prayeris, this hollie bischop schew ane similitud to the king, quhilk might bring him to experience how he might invaid againes the

* Oratory.

Douglass, and the rest of the conspiratouris. This bischop tuik furth ane great scheife of arrowes knitt togidder werrie fast, and desired him to put thame to his knie, and break thame. The king said it was not possible, becaus they war so many, and so weill fastened togidder. The bischop answeired, it was werrie true, bot yitt he wold latt the king sea how to break thame: and pulled out on be on, and tua be tua, quhill he had brokin thame all; then said to the king, " Yea most doe with the conspiratouris in this manner, and thair complices that are risen againes yow, quho are so many in number, and so hard knit togidder in conspiracie againes yow, that yea cannot gett thame brokin togidder. Butt be sick prattick as I have schowin yow be the similitud of thir arrowes, that is to say, yea mvst congeis and break lord by lord be thame-selffis, for yea may not deall with thame all at once. Thairfoir, mak ane proclamatioun out throw the realme to all sick as hes offendit yow, and grant thame ane frie remissioun to be guid men in tymes cuming, and to serve your grace at this instant tyme in your necessitie. The quhilk being done, I trust your grace sall gett moe followeris nor your contrair partie. The king hearing of this guid

counsall, took guid courage, and caused mak proclamatiounes in all pairtes of the realme to the effect forsaide. He pulled vp his banner in St Androis, and cam to Falkland the first night in arrayed battell, and on the morne went to Stirling, accompanied with this noble bischope, James Kennedie, with all the lordis of Fyffe, Angus, and Stratherne, and remained in Stirling quhill the north pairt of Scotland cam to him ; quhilk hail people being conveined, wer thrittie thousand : and thair-after, awfullie with displayed banner, cam fordward againes the earle Douglas, quho was lyand camped in fear of warre on the southsyd of the watter of Carron, thrie myll from the Torwood, with the nvmer of fourtie thousand men, thinkand no lese in his mynd, nor he schould be pairtie to the king, and give him battell : or elis to caus him leive the realme. Bot on the vther syd, bischop James Kennedie vsed ane craftie mean to break the armie and forces of the earle Douglas. He sent ane secreit seryand of his awin to James, lord Hamiltoun, quho was principall captane of the earle Douglas armie at that tyme, and had thrie hundreth futmen, and als manie horsmen at his governance vpoun the earle Douglas expensis, to pas with him quhair he

pleased. Yitt, nevirththeless, the said lord Hamiltoun, being adverteised be his eame bischope Kennedie, of the kingis guid mynd towardis him and favour, quhilk he had purchaised be his moyane, schowand him if he wold returne and leive the earle Douglas at that tyme, he should have ane frie remissioun for all thingis bypast, and great rewardis in tymes to cum, quhilk he obtained as said is. Notwithstanding this, lord Hamiltoun, having ane kyndlie love to the earle Douglas, and great respect to his awin honour, pondered the matter in his awin mynd, thinkand that he would assay the earle Douglas mynd in the said caus; and quhat he was purposed to doe at that tyme. Thairfoir, he passed to the earle Douglas incontinent, and requyred of him quhat was his mynd; if he would give the king battell or not; schowing him, the longer he delayed, his number would be the smaller, and the king would be the more able againes him. The earle answeired, if he war tyred, he might pas when he pleased. Of the quhilk answer, the said lord Hamiltoun was verrie weill content, and that same night past to the king, quhair he was weill receaved. And than the rest of the barrones and gentlemen sieing the depairture of the lord Hamiltoun, being

ane man of singular wisdome and courage, and in quhiom the armie pat thair wholl hope of victorie, war strukin with such fear, that everie man passed his way : so that on the morne thairefter, the earle Douglas had not ane hunder men, by his awin housold, quho sieing this, fled hastilie in Annerdaill, quhair he was schortlie vanquished be ane band of men of warre of the kingis. Sua this prince obtained great victorie and peace; bot ony slauchter of his lieges, be counsall of this guid and hollie bischop, quho did many guid actis in his tyme, both to the glorie of God and advancement of the commounweill and his countrie. So we will lat him rest with God, and returne to our purpose.

In the yeir of our Lord 1471 yeires, James the Thrid, being of the aige of twentie yeires, took to wayffe the king of Denmarkis dochter, called Margaret, and gatt with hir in tocher guid, the landis of Orkney and Zetland, with all richt title, and richt of thame, pertaining to the king of Denmark at that tyme. This marriage was solempnized in Edinburgh, the gentlvoman being bot twelff yeires of age at this tyme; the king having the realme in guid peace and rest, and the commounweill. Nevirtheles, within a schort quhill, he was brought

in great cumber, pairtlie throw his awin insolencie, and pairtlie be the conspiracie of his awin lordis and barons, as efter yea sall hear.

This prince had two brether, the eldest named Duik of Albanie and earle of Merche, etc. quho was verrie wyse and manlie, and loved nothing so weill as able men, and maid great coast and expenssis thairvpoun. For he was vonderous liberall in all thingis perteaning to his honour; and for his singular wisdom and manhood, he was estemed in all countries aboue his brother the kingis majestie: for he was so dowbted amongst the nobilitie of the realme, that they durst nevir rebell against his brother the king, so long as they war at one, for he was so hardie and wyse, that they stood more aw of him nor of his brother. This Alexander was ane man of more stature, broad schoulered, well proportioned in all his memberis, and speciallie in his face, when he pleased to schow himselfe to his vnfreindis. But the king his brother was different far from his qualities, for he was ane man that loved solitarines, and desired nevir to hear of warre; bot delighted more in musick and policie, and building, nor he did in the governement of his realme. Moreover, he was more diligent in conquising money nor the heartis of his sub-

jectis, and delighted more in the playing of instrumentis nor in the defence of the borderis, and administratioun of justice, quhilk was his vreak and ruine, as efter followis. Bot we will returne to the thrid brother, [John] earle of Marre, quho was ane fair lustie man, of ane great and weill proportioned stature, weill faced, and comlie in all his behaviouris, who knew nothing bot nobilitie. He vsed meikle hunting and hawking, with other gentlmanie exercise, and delighted also in interteaning of great and stout hors and meares, that thair offspring might florisch, so that he might be served thairwith in tyme of warres. But we will returne to our purpose.

The said Alexander, Duik of Albanie, and earle of Marche, for his singular wisdom and manheid, was chosine captaine of Barvick, and lieftennent of the haill borderis, and had in his hand at that tyme the castle of Dumbar, with the living thairof, perteaning to the earl of Merch; nevirtheles, the lord Alexander Home, vther wayes called lord chamberland, had many of the saidis landis in his handis, in vptaking the maills and rentis thairof, be reason of his office givin to him in king James the Second his tyme: thairfoir, wold not suffer the tennentis thairof to answeir the Duik

of Albanie with guid will of the rentis and proffitis thair of, bot believed, be craftie meanes, to vse all his awin pleasour. But Alexander, Duik of Albanie, being comoved with this, spaired not to ryd to the boundis and landis of the earledome of Merche, and thair tuik vp the proffitis and dewties at his awin hand: for he gott no impediment, in respect of his great comandement, being great leiftennent, and captane of Barvick, and had also the castle of Dumbare in his keiping, besydis that he had many favoureris to defend his just caus, he being second person in the realme.

The same yeir, the queine bure ane sone, called king James, the feird of that name.

Notwithstanding, the Hoomes not being content with this Alexander Duikis forsaidis proceedingis, kest all the wayis they might, to keep thaimselfis in possessioun of the roumes and rentis quhilkis they war in vse of a befor, be vptaking the rentis thair of as chamberlane to the kingis grace. And to that effect, to fortifie thair caus, they bandit with the Hepburnes to mak thair pairt guid againes Alexander, Duik of Albanie. But thair labouris war bot in vaine, for sieing thair actioun was not guid, he prevailed [over] thame at all tymes quhair ever they mett. If he had beine

threttie for thriescoir, he wold have given thame battell, and chased thame to thair holdis. Then the Hoomes and the Hepburnes, sieing they could not prevaill againest this nobleman, devysed among thamselffis ane craftie meane quhairby they might caus his brother the kingis grace to be discontent with him ; knawing weill, if they could gett the king brokin from him, they would prevaill. In this mean tyme, ane new courtiour start vp, called Cochrane, who had at that tyme great preheminance and auctoritie, and rulled the king and all actiones of the court at his pleasour, and wold have done any manes turne, war it richt or vrong, for budis and brybis. The Homes and the Hepburnes sieing this man Cochrane to have so great credence of the king, they thought no better nor to mak thair moyane with him, and give him large sowmes of money to fortifie thame, and manteane thair caus againes the Duik of Albanie, who haistilie promised to tak thair pairtes in all thingis debaittable betuixt thame and the Duik of Albanie, and his brother, the earle of Marre, for the said Cochrane confessed to thame, that he was of no lese fear of the Duik of Albanie and his brother, nor they war thamselffis, thairfoir, he wold the more easilie consent to thair

opinion, and promised, if he could find the tyme convenient, he should bring thair purpose to effect, and depairted from thame, and was in the court daylie, labouring with all ingyne to bring the king at discord with his brether. He travelled long or he could bring his purpose to pas : for the king loved his brether so weill, that he wold hear no vrong narratione of thame, nor gave no man credence that spak evill of thame. Quhill at the last, this Cochrane sieing that he could not break the king from his brether, he gart ane wich cum to the king, and pronunce to his grace, that he schould be suddenlie slaine be the nearest of his kine : quhairat the king was offendit, and asked at the wich how shoe sould know that of him : or if any man had caused hir to say so of him. Schoe answeired, shoe had the revelatioun be ane familiar spirit : and than the king begane to be astonisched, and daylie effeired, conceitting in his mynd whom it sould be : and at the last, apprehendit it sould be his awin brether that should fulfill this prophecie that the wich had spokin, becaus he had no bairnes of his awin, at that tyme, of such aige as would doe sick ane turne. Thairfoir, he concludit haillallie with himselfe, that it sould be his brether that sould doe to him

that mischiefe, and thairvpoun, he grew in suspitiōne and hatred, that he might on no wayes tak rest, becaus they war neirest of kin to him as the wich had spoken : but ever inqyred at the rest of his vnhappie counsallouris, who augmented him daylie in that suspitiōne towardis his brether. But when this suspitiōne that the king had takin spread throw the countrey, and als cam to the eares of the Hōmes and the Hepburnes, they war heartilie weill content thairwith, trusting by that meanis to be revengit on thair enemies, the Duik of Albanie and his brother. Thairfoir, they maid thame to the court, and flattered with the king and courtiouris, schowand thair opiniō of the kingis suspitiōne, saying, that they thought all to be of veritie, that the king had conceaved in that manner towardis his brether, quhill at the last thair grew sick mortall feid within the kingis breast towardis his brether, that he could in no wayes lett thaim leive in peace, bot falselie in his awin heart condemned thame to the death, and that be the false persuasion of that fals flatterer Cochrane, quho gatt great sowmes of money thairfoir. At the last, the king sent for his brether to cum to Edinburghe to him with all possible haist, for sick thingis as he had to

doe with thame. Bot the kingis purpose was to destroy thame immediatlie efter their cuming. Notwithstanding, the Duik of Albanie was suirle adverteised be sum of his freindis of the kingis malice towardis him to the persuation of his enemies, and thairfor, he would not compeir for the kingis letter, but fled to his awin castle in Dumbar, quhilk he saw farder in the matter. But the earle of Marre, knawing of nothing, cam obedientlie vnto his brother, the kingis grace, quhair he was schortlie thairefter murthered in the Cannogatt in ane bath seat*, be whose persuasioun I cannot tell; and thairefter, the king cam to Dumbar to have gottin his brother the Duik into his handis; but the Duik being advertised of his cuming, fled out of the said castle, and left men to keip it, and past himselve to Berwick, and remained thair quhill he saw fardder tyddingis. The king hearing of his departure, sent certane noblmen to the castle of Dunbar, and desired the same to be rendrit at the kingis pleasour, to the king and his captanes, quhilk was obedientlie rendrit, and thair remained a quhyll at his pleasour, royd of all dreadour, danger, or fear, quhilk he suspected to cum be the prophesie of this wick, and pasted his tyme with his flatterrers in all

* Or bath fatt

the pairtes of Scotland, thinking then thair was no man had him at invy, bot he might saillie perseveir in his pleasure.

In this meane tyme this Cochran grew so familiar with the king that nothing was done be him, and all men that would have had thair bussines exped, dressed thaimselfis to this Cochran, and maid him forspeaker for thame: and gave him large money, quhairthrow he became so rich and potent that no man might stryve with him: and he knowing the kingis conditione, that he loved him better that gave him nor he that tuik from him; for the quhilk caus the said Cochran gave the king large sowmes of money, quhairthrow he obtained the earledome of Marre from the king and was possest* in the same: and evir clame hier and hier till he thought he had no pier of ane subject in Scotland, and speciallie in the kingis favouris: for nothing was concludit in court nor counsall but by the adwyse of this Cochrane; nather durst any man oppose against his proceedings, war they guid or evill: for, if they so did, he wold gar punisch thame sickerlie, for he had sick credit of the king that he gave him leive to stryk cunzie of his awin as if he had beine ane prince; and when any would refuse the said cunzie,

* Or infest.

quhilk was called ane Cochrane plack, and would say to him that it would be cryed down, he would answeir, that he should be hanged that day that his money was cryed down, quhilk prophecie cam to pas heirefter. For this Cochrane had sick auctoritie of court, and credence of the king, that no man gatt audience of the king bot be his moyane, or gave him geare, quhilk, if they did, thair materis and adoes went richt, wer thei just or vnjust, or against the commounweill, all was alyk to him, so that he might have his awin proffit, for he abused this noble prince so, that non was receaved in court nor in offices bot such as would obey him, and be of his factioun. Sua be thir meanes the wyse lordis counsallis war refused, and thair sones absent from the kingis service : for no man durst cum to serve the king but he that was a flatterer with Cochrane, and counted all thingis weill done that he counsalled the king to doe. Be thir wayes the king tint many of the nobles heartis of Scotland, and of thair sones and brether, that wer young men, verrie desirous to serve the king, bot yitt they could not gett no place for this Cochrane and his companie; nor na casualties could fall to the king of Scotland bot it was disponed be the adwyse of this Cochrane, and not be the coun-

sall of the lordis of parliament, nather spirituall nor temporall. The quhilk moved the most pairt of the nobilitie to fall from the king, and sett thair intentis how to find remeid. And thairfoir sett ane convention among thaimselffis to consult how they might best mak the king to defend the realme in justice and equitie, quhairby the commounweill might flourish, and the kingis honour not diminisched, and put such men about him as wer most decent for ane prince; quhairby vertew might be mainteaned, and vyce punished, and that he might von the heartis of his lordis and barrones, he bringing the land to peace and rest, as his father left it to him. And vpoun this the lordis sent ane wyse man to the king, declaring to his grace that they desired him to leive young counsall and vngodlie particular flattereris, quho had no regaird of his honour, nor the proffit of the commounweill, bot onlie respected thair awin particular proffit: and that his grace would put all fear and suspitioun out of his mynd, quhilk he had of his nobles, and that he would tak the counsall of his wyse lordis, how he sould ruell himselff in the government of his realme, and in the administratioun of justice, and defence of his enemies, and maintaining

of the commounweill; and, if his grace wold vse thair counsall in this maner, they wold leive and die with him in defence of his honour and kingdome, and, if he wold not inclyne to thair counsall, they tuik God to witnes they should be guiltles of all misgovernment of the realme, and chairge thair of should ly vpoun him both befoir God and man, and they sould be declaired innocent if any mischeife cam in the countrie. The king answered and said, he had no counsall in the government of countrie and commounweill bot lordis counsallis as they war, and pleased him for the tyme, and wold latt thame to vnderstand, becaus he could sie no better for him for the tyme, that he wold put no man out of his companie that was in it, for thair pleasures; and beleived weill, that they war both traist and trew that was in his companie and served him. Yitt, notwithstanding, when all the lordis war togidder, and concludit all in ane voyce, he would not be content to vse thair counsallis in all thingis, and speciallie in the defence of the realme and liberties thair of. The lordis hearing this answeir of the king, was not halffingis content with the samyne: bot they bure fair quhill they saw thair tyme, knowing they cotld doe no fardder in this

matter quhil they war at the feildis in camped battell. To that effect sum of thame caused the borderis to be brokin, and other sum lay still; and could mak no defence, quhairthrow cam reiff and hirschip in the countrey, and great slauchter made betuixt Scotland and Ingland, quhairthrow the landis war so waisted be Ingland, and be the theives of Annerdail, that all the landis war waisted evin to Edinburghe. When thir lamentatiounes and cryes of the poore cam befor the king, he was heavilie commoved, and caused mak proclamations through all the realme, to all and sundrie his leiges, earles, lordis, and barrones, and substantiall gentlemen : yea, and all men betuixt sixtie and sixteine, to compeir and assemble vpoun the Borrowmure of Edinburghe, in thair best array, with fourtie dayes victuallis, to pas forward with the king quhair he pleased in defence of the realme.

The Inglismen hearing of thir proclamations, maid great provisioun for the same, thinkand that they wold defend thameslffis, and thair borderis, contrair the Scottis. Att this tyme they had to thair chiftane and leiftennent, the duik of Glocester, who then was great leivtennent and principall counsellour to Edward the new king. Nevirtheles, the Scottis

cam peartlie fordward to the place appoynted, to witt the Borrowmoore, to the number of 50,000 men, by carriage men and borderreris. The king tuik certane artillerie with him out of the castle of Edinburgh, and maid Coch-rane earle of Marre convoyar of the same, and past fordward to Sowtrie the first night, and on the morne to Lather, and thair stented thair paviliones betuixt the kirk and the torn, and thair abod that night, quhill on the morne: then as the lordis of Scotland conveyined in the kirk of Lather, to consult quhat was best to be done for the weilfair of the realme, and defence of the borderis, or if thei schould pas with the king at his pleasour, at that tyme or not. Some wyse and ancient lordis said he was not thair king, nor gnyded be thame, nor by thair counsall, bot maid vp fallowis mais-sones to be lordis and earles, in the place of noblmen: that is to say, he had banished the duik of Albanie, his brother, and had for-falt and slaine the earle of Marre his vther brother, and had maid Coch-rane, quho was bot ane maissoun, to fulfill his place; quhair-of they could not be content, till they had sick thingis reformed. Vpoun this, they cheised certaine lordis, to the number of twentie-four, that is to say, the earle of Angus, principall

of the counsall, the lord Evandaill, chancel-
lour for the tyme, the earles Huntlie, Argyle,
Orkney, Crawford, and Bothwell, the lordis
Hoome, Gray, Drummond, and Seatoun, with
certane bischopes: Quho, quhan they had ad-
wysed ryplie in the caus, they concludit that
the king sould be taine softlie, bot harme of
his bodie, and convoyed to the castle of Edin-
burgh, with certane gentlmen; and thair to
remaine quhill they war farder adwysed, and
in this mean tyme, to tak Cochrane earle of
Marre, and the rest of the kingis familiaris,
and immediatlie to hing them over the bridge
of Lather. Be this was spokin and adwysed,
the earle of Marre cam from the king to the
counsall, quhilk counsall was holdin in the
kirk of Lather for the tyme, who was weill
accompanied with ane band of men of weir,
to the number of thrie hunder light axes, all
cled in quhyt luferay, in blak bendis, that they
might be knawin for Cochrane the earle of
Marre his men. Himselff was clad in ane
ryding py of blak velvett, with ane great
chaine of gold about his neck, to the value
of fyve hundreth crouns; and ane faire blow-
ing horne, in ane reckle of gold borne and tip-
ped with fyne gold, at both the endis, and ane
precious stone called ane buriall hanging at

the midis thairof. This Cochrane had his hewmont borne befor him, all overgilt with gold, and sua was all the rest of his harness: and his payillione was of fyne canvas of silk, and the cordis thairof fyne twyned silk. This Cochrane was so proud in his awin conceitt, that he thought no lord his companione, thairfoir he rusched rudlie at the kirk doore: The counsall askeit who it was that perturbed thame for the tyme. Sir Robert Douglas, laird of Lochlevin, was keiper of the kirk doore, and inquyred who it was that knocked so rudlie: and Cochrane answeired and said, it is the earle of Marre; quhilk newis pleased weill the counsall; becaus they war readie to tak him. Then the earle of Angus passed haistilie to the kirk doore, and with him Sir Robert Douglas of Lochlevin, to receive in the earle of Mare, and so manie of his complices as wer thair: and then the earle of Angus mett the earle of Marre as he cam in at the kirk doore, and pulled the goldin chaine from his neck; and said to him, "a rop wold sett him better;" Sir Robert Douglas sieing this, pulled the blowing horne from him, and said to him, "he had beine over long ane hunter of mischeife." Than Cochrane, said, "My lordis is it mowis or earnest?" They answeired, and

said, he sould find it for earnest, " for thou and thy complices hes abused our prince this long tyme, of quhom thow schalt have no more credit, bot sall have thy reward according to thy deservingis in tymes bygane: and richt so the rest of thy fellowis." Notwithstanding the lordis held him quyet quhill they caused certane armed men pas to the kingis pavilioun, and tuo or thrie wyse men with thame, and gave the king fair and pleasant wordis, till they had laid handis on all his servandis; and tuik thame and hanged thame over the bridge of Lather befor the kingis eyes; and brought in the king himselff to the counsall. Thairefter, incontinent the brought out Cochrane, and his handis bound with ane tow, behind his back, who desired thame to tak ane of his awin pavillion towis, quhilk war of silk, and bind his handis, for he thought shame to be bund with ane hemp tow lyk ane theife; the lordis answered and said, " He was wors than a theife, he was ane tratour, and deserved no better : " and for desphight they tuick ane hair tadder and hanged him over the bridge of Lather, aboue his complices, and immediatlie maid ane proclamatioun, and cryed down his cunzie, quhilk fulfilled his awin prophesie, that it might be ane example to all meine persons,

not to climb so hie, and intend for high mat-
 teris in court as he did ; for at his begining he
 was but ane prenteis to ane maissoun, and be-
 came verrie ingenious in that craft, and biggit
 many stone houssis with his handis in the
 realme of Scotland, becaus he was cunning
 in that craft. Not long efter, the king maid
 him his maister maissoun, and evir he clame
 so high, till he clame to his end, as is rehearsit.
 The king was tane captive himself, and led to
 the castle of Edinburgh, be the convoy of
 certane gentlemen, and non escaped that was
 in his companie, I meane his secreit cubicu-
 laris and servandis ; but wer all hanged, ex-
 cept ane young man called Sir Johne Ramsay,
 was saiff be the kingis request, who for to
 saiff his lyffe, lap vpoun the hors behind the
 king. This Sir Johne Ramsay was laird of
 Bowman, and efter theasuter of Scotland.
 This act was done in the moneth of August
 1481 yeires.

After this, ane lang tyme, the king remain-
 ed in the castle of Edinburghe, as captive, and
 had certaine lordis in companie with him that
 took hold on him and keiped him in the said
 castle, and served him and honoured him as
 ane prince aucht to be in all thingis ; for he
 was not put thair as ane prisoner, but for the

mainteining of the commounweill ; gave him leive to vse all his directiones, giftis and casualties at his pleasour, for nothing was derogat froh him be reasoun of his auctoritie, and all lettres war given and proclamatiounes maid in his name, lykas they war befoir at his in-putting, nor no regent, nor governour, was chosin at that tyme, bot everie lord within his awin boundis was sworne to minister justice, and to punish thift and slauchter within thameselfis, or elis to bring the doeris of the same to the kingis justice at Edinburgh, and thair to be punished or answer for the crymes thameselfis, and to be holdin doeris of the same. Thus, thair was peace and rest in the countrie the space of thrie quarteris of an yeir. Quhill at the last the king wold have beine out of the castle at his awin libertie, bot he could not obtaine his purpose, except he wold have bund himselff to the lordis counsallis, that war his inputteris, and give thame some pledges for the mair securitie of his promeise, quhilk he wold onawayes doe. Sum that was secret servandis to him, gave him counsall to speak with the earle Douglas, who was captive in the castle of Edinburgh at that tyme, and to tak him in his favouris, and to remitt all byganes, and to restore him to his landis, who

was ane long tyme befor forfait; schewing if the king would doe this, the earle Douglas was able to fortifie and defend him, and to bring him to his purpose. The king was verrie glad of this, and desired verrie effectuously to speak with the earle Douglas, who was brought to him incontinent, to intercommon vpoun the said matter. The earle Douglas, on the vther pairt, was so high and presumptuous in his owin mynd, that he gave the king no dew reverence as he ought to have done, bot high and presumptuous wordis, quhilk became him not to give his prince at that tyme, considdering he was captive, and vnder subjectione. Thairfor the king thought him so proud in his answeiris, and commoning, that they pairted wors freindis than they mett, and then the king awowed, that he scheuld nevir be relaxit out of the castle of Edinburgh, if he might keip him in it, for by his proud speiking he was likelier to be ane king than he. For the king feared him as meikle as any of the rest, if he had beine at libertie; so he left him in this maner, and commoned no more with him: and schew thame that gave him the counsall the wholl matter, who war verrie discontent at the same; bot sum of thame gave him counsall to wrytt a letter to

his brother, the duke of Albanie, and caus him pas to king Edward the new king, and ask support of him and his counsall, quhairby he might be relaxed out of the castle of Edinburgh, and to be revengit on his inputteris; promissand if any sick thingis occurred in Ingland to king Edward, he sould be readie with all his power to his support. Thir lettres war direct immediatlie to the duik of Albanie, his brother, who was then in Bervick, and receaved the lettres verrie thankfullie, requyring of the king and counsall of Ingland the said support, as the letters maid mentioun thair of. The king and counsall of Ingland having adwysed thairvpoun, denyed any support to be given to the king of Scotland, without they knew quhairfoir; becausthey had chairged him for support sundry times, and gatt non. Yitt notwithstanding, would the king of Scotland be content to render Bervick againe, they would grant him sick support as would relax him. The duik of Albanie answeired and said, he had no such commissioun in that matter; bot promised he schould schew the king of Inglandis desir to his brother, and bring him ane answeir schortlie. Efter this the duik of Albanie wreatt ane lettre to the king of Scotland his brother, schowand to him

the will and answeir of the king of Ingland, and counsall of Ingland; to wit, he desired the toun of Bervick to be rendrit againe within yeir and day in Inglismentis handis, and if the king of Scotland would promeise this to be done within the space forsaid, and sette his great seal thairvpoun, they would incontinent grant all his desires, that is to say, to deliver him ffrie at libertie, and mak him to have power to punisch quhom he will that had transgressed againes [him], provyding alwayes that the king of Scotland wold delyver vnto thame certane pledges, quhill the said toun war delyvered. This answeir pleased weill the king of Scotland, saying, if all Ingland war his, he had rather render it, nor be holdin in captivitie and thraldome be his awin. And to this effect, he writt his commissioun vnder his great seall, to his brother the duik of Albanie, to grant thair desires, and to promeise the same to the counsall of Ingland, and sent four lordis sones in pledgis for the same.

The duik of Albanie receaved the kingis commissioun and pledgis, and thairefter past to London, to the king of Ingland and counsall thairof, and schew him the maner how he had sped, and promised to the king that all his desires schould be granted, and schew him

the king of Scotlandis commissioun vnder his great seall, and delyvered the pleidgis for keiping of his promise Vpoun the quhilk the king of Ingland was verrie weill content, and receaved the pledgis verrie thankfullie, and interteaned thame verrie weill, and incontinent caused the duik of Gloucester, his great lieftennent, pas in Scotland with the duik of Albanie, and the number of ten thousand men, the best in all Ingland, was provydit, and comandit the duik of Glocester to pas with the duik of Albanie in Scotland, or quhairevir he pleased, in defence and support of the king of Scotland, and promiseissed that they sould want nothing, nather furnishing nor expensis, ay and quhill the king of Scotland war put to libertie, and revenged vpoun his enemies. And incontinent thairefter thir noblemen cam in Scotland the tuentie tua day of the moneth of August anno 1482 yeires, and planted thair paviliones vpoun the Borrowmoore of Edinburghe, and thair maid provisione for thair armies, lyk tuo noble chieftanes. Then the wholl noblmen of Scotland, knowing the caus of their cuming, and quhat the king of Scotland had offered, drew themselffis togidder to ane counsall, and soone thairefter compeired the duik of Albanie and the duik of Glocester

within the town of Edinburgh, with the number of ane thousand gentlemen, and entered within the tolbuith thair of, befor the lordis of Scotland, quho war sittand at ane counsall at that time, and thair verrie revrentlie saluted the duke of Albanie, revered him, and welcomed him home, and requyred of him what was his petitione. He answered, " I desir the kingis grace, my brother, to be put to libertie, quhilk was granted to him incontinent." Bot the chancellor answered and said, " My lord, we will grant you your desires: bot as to that man who is with yow, we know him not, nor yitt will we grant nothing to his desir. Bot we know your lordship to be the kingis brother, and excepting the kingis sone, the second persone in Scotland, and ane favourer of justice, and the commounweill. Thairfor the kingis grace salbe at your will, to vse him as yea think guid: beseiching you thairfor to caus him vse wyse and honest counsall in tyme cuming, who regairdis his honour and weill of the countrie. This being done, I trust the king salbe out of suspitione of his subjectis, quhilk hes beine troublous in tymes by gane, and caused vs quho war his lordis to doe the thing quhilk was not to his contentment; becaus he would not vse our counsallis, bot used

all thingis at his awin pleasour, and those quhe war his familiaris for the tyme, who was not worthie to have beine with ane king, nor to have given him counsall, bot rather to have holdin the pleugh, or to have keipit scheipe. Thairfoir I pray God your Lordschip may have honour of your labouris, quhilk yea have maid at this tyme, for his delyverance."

Thus, when the chancellour had endit his oratiounes, the duik of Albanie and the duik of Glocester depairted from the counsall towardis the castle to receive the king; and heraldes of armes war commandit to pas with thame, to charge the captanes to mak the gaittes opin and to delyver the king. So the king cam furth of the castle to the duik of Albanie his brother, and rod down to the Abbey of Halliruidhous, and the duik of Albanie his brother behind him, both on ane hors, quhair they remained ane long tyme in great mirrines, quhill all the lordis cam down and maid thair dew obedience to the king, be the duik of Albanies adwyse. Thairefter the king past to Stirling, and throw many pairtes of Scotland, accompanied with the duik of Albanie and the duik of Glocester: and with the duik of Glocester tua thousand horsmen and fyve hundreth footmen, vpoun the king

of Inglandis expenssis, and send home the rest of his armie to Ingland againe, and remained himselff the space of ane yeir, with the number foirsaidis, with the king of Scotland.

In this meane tyme the kyng pat certane lordis in the castle of Edinburghe, quho war, for the most pairt, counsallouris of his inputting, to the number of sixteine: to witt, the earle of Bothwell, the lord Home, the lord Evandail, chancellour for the tyme; the lord Gray, the lord Drummond, the lord Eglington, the lord Fleming, the lord Seatoun, the lord Maxwell, with sundrie great barrones, whom the king was adwysed, for the tyme, to have justified all, war not the counsall of the duik of Albanie his brother and the earle of Angus, quho than was familiar with the king, to saiff the lordis injustified in the tyme of the kingis furie.

Efter this ane long tyme thair was peace and rest in the realme, and that throw the court and counsall of the duik of Albanie, quho soone thairefter married the earle of Orkneyis dochter, and begat vpoun hir ane sone, called Alexander, who was thairefter bischope of Murray, but not long efter he pairted with hir, and past in France, and was married vpoun the duchess of Bulloigne. But this Alexander,

duik of Albanie, had the great indignation of many of the nobles in Scotland, for fortifying and manteining the king in his privat affaires, and gave him the wytt that so many lordis wer in captivitie at that tyme, and for rendring of Bervick, according to the kingis promise, who gave him commissioun to render the same for his releive. And the lordis could not be content thairwith, bot alledgit it to be treasone : and wer verrie desirous to have had sum cryme to accuse the duik of Albanie, and to have put ane new suspitione betuixt him and his brother, the king, thinking weill the could onawayes gett thair will of the king except they had his brother cut off. And for that effect they caused certane flattereris and evill speakers schow the king that the duik of Albanie intendit to have the croun, for he was licklier to be king nor the king himselfe as he proceidit ; for he disposed all thingis pertaining to the libertie of the croun : and caused the king to vnderstand, that he would fulfil the prophecie of the wich who prophiced to the king that the nearest of his kine schould destroy him. Thir wordis, and siclyk vther fainyied taillis, maid the king so effeired of the duik of Albanie, that he could have beine content to have beine quyt

of him, notwithstanding of all the travellis he had maid for the kingis weil, and for the delyverring of him out of captivitie. All his guid service was forgett with this flattrie, and the fear that the king tuik of him be the perswasione of wicked counsallouris, caused him to summond his brother befor the counsall, for sick poyntis of treasone as efter followis. That is to say: for rendring the toun of Bervick in Inglismentis handis, but counsall or commissioun of the lordis of Scotland. Sua the duik of Albanie compeired pertlie befor the king and counsall, and produced the kingis commissioun, vnder his great seall, to render the same, to the effect that support might cum to the king for his delyverance. Bot the lordis alleadged that commissioun was of no effect at that tyme, becaus he was in captivitie, and did the same by * the advyce of the lordis and counsall. Quhairfor the lordis of counsall for the tyme convicted the said duik, and send him to the castle to be imprisoned.

In this meane tyme the earle of Angus gatt the haill lordis that was in waired releived, vpoun caution to enter againe when the king pleased, vnder the paine of ten thousand

* Without.

poundis ilk man, etc. Soone efter this they counsalled the king to justifie his brother, the duik of Albanie, thinkand, if they war quytt of him they should doe with the king quhat they pleased. For they stod in sick aw of the duik that they durst nevir medle with the king, nor put handis in him, he being alyve. Quhairfoir thir conspiratouris insistit and war verrie desirous to have this noble and famous man put to death, and continewed in this vngodlie and vnleisum sute, quhill it was knawin in France be sick as favoured the duik of Albanie: and thairfoir thair came ane French schip out of France hastilie in Scotland, with secreit wryttingis to the duik of Albanie, quho was than in prisone in the Castle of Edinburth, to adverteise him that it was concludit be the king and counsall that he should be justified vpoun a certane day, quhilk was the day efter the schip cam to the toun of Leith besyd Newheavin, and gave hir selff furth as ane passinger with wyne. Quhen he had hard of thir newis he desired leive of the captane to send for tuo bottelles of wyne, who gave him leive glaidlie, and provydit the bossis himselff: and than the duik of Albanie sent ane of his familiar servantis to the Frenchmen, and desired him to bring him of the fynest and

and starkest wyne, quho was obeyed thankfullie, and send him tuo bosis of Malvesie ; and in the one end of the botle put ane row of wax, quhairin was inclosed ane secreit wrytting, quhilk schew the duik of Albanie sick newis as he was not content thairwith : and in the other boss thair was ane long tow to support him in his neid. So the messinger haisted him back to the castle, and schew his maister certane thingis be tongue, quhilk the Frenchman had told him, and that night the duik called the captane to supper, and promised him ane drink of guid wyne. So the captane cam to him glaidlie, and souped with him. The duik gave his chamber chyld command that he sould drink no wyne that night, bot hold himselff temperat, for he knew not quhat he wold have to doe, and if thair arose any dissentioun betuixt him and the captane, he prayed him to stand be him, as he schould be ane guid maister to him thairefter. Quhen the supper was done, the captane passed to the kingis chamber to sie quhat was doing, who was then ludged in the castle : and when he had visited all, he caused tham close the yattes and sett the watchmen ; and thairefter cam to the duikis chamber to the collatioun. And efter they had drunkin thair collatioun,

and all men in thair bedis, the duik and the captane past to the tables and played for the wyne. The fire was hett and the wyne was strong, and the captane and his men became mirrie, quhill at the last, the duik perceaved his tyme, and saw thame mirrie, and maid ane signe to his chamber chyld to be readie as he had instructed him, for the duik was fullie resolved aither to doe or to die: for he was suirly informed be the French schip that he was to be headed on the morne. So he thought best to preveine the tyme, and lap from the boord and strak the captane with ane whinger and slew him, and also stiked other tuo with his awin hand. And in the meane tyme his chamber chyld was werrie busie; and sua they tuo overthrew fyve: that is, the captane and four of his men: and when they had done, kest tham in the fyre; and efterwardis tuik out thair towes and passed to the wall head, at ane quyet place, quhair the watchmen might have no sicht of thame, and than streched thair cordis over the wall head, and the chamber boy passed first: bot the towis was schort, and he fell and brak his thigh bone. Then he cryed to his maister to mak the tow longer, for he was gone. Then the duik reave the scheittis aff his bed, and lenthned

the tow, and passed saiflie himself: and when he was cum down and perceaved his servant in poynt of dead, he tuik him vpoun his back and carried him away als fare as he might, and left him in ane quyet place, quhair he trowed he might be saife, and syne went to the Newheavin besyd Leith, and maid him ane signe to the schip, who sent ane boatt to the land and receaved him in. Bot no man knew whidder his servant went with him or not: bot suirle manie gentlemen of Scotland wisched thamselvis to have beine with him, and, amongst the rest, Sir Alexander Jairdine of Aplegirth, knyght, passed with him, and sundrie other gentlemen.

Bot on the morne, whan the wachmen perceaved that the towis war hinging over the wallis, then rane they to seik the captane to schew him the matter and maner, bot he was not in his awin chamber. Then they passed to the duikis chamber and fund the doore opin, and ane dead man lying in the chamber doore, and the captane and the rest burning in the fyre, quhilk was verrie dollorous to thame; and when they mised the duik of Albanie and his chamber chyld, they rane speidilie and schew the king how the matter had happened. Bot he wold not give it credence till he past

himself and saw the matter. Then he considered the whole caus how it stood, and caused the yattes to be holdin close, that no word should pas to the toun, quhill he had searched all the place, to sie quhidder the duik of Albanie war within or not. Bot when he could not find him, he caused horsmen to be sent furth in all pairtes, to sie if they could apprehend him in ony place, and bring him to him againe, and they should have great rewardis thairfoir. Bot yitt they could gett no kynd of tryall of him, quhill at the last, thair cam ane man out of Leith, and schew the king that thair cam ane boat from the French schip, and tuik in certane men, and thairefter pulled vp hir saillis, and travisched up and down the Firth, quhom they judged to be the duik of Albanie, as it was trew ; for he past to France incontinent, and gatt in mariage the duchess of Bolloigne, and begatt vpoun hir Sir John Stewart, who was after him duik of Albanie, and governour of Scotland.

Bot we will returne to our purpose and historie, how the wholl lordis, at the hour of nyne, cam to the king to the castle, to sie quhat ordour schould be takin with the executioun of his brother the duik of Albanie, and to sie in quhat place he schould be headed : and when

they knew the matter how it stood, thair was sum of them verrie sorie, thinking weill that he should not fail to quyt thaim comoun if he lived: bot other sum war heartilie weill content, and rejoyced of his guid event, knowing that he was innocent, and thought that they wold hear better tydingis of him ane other day. Notwithstanding, the king himselff was affeired and commoved; pairtlie throw the slauchter of the captane, and als he had evir in remembrance the saying of the wich, thinking he could nevir be satisfied in his mynd, quhill he had his brother put to dead a befoir. But fra tyme he was suirlye adverteised that his brother was so intertained in France, be the king and counsall thair of, and had gottin the duches of Buloigne in marriage, in that respect, he conjectured that he wold not cum againe in Scotland haistilie; becaus he was both forfalt, and had brokin his waird. Yitt nevirtheles the lordis tuik evir a great feare of his returning, and durst nevir execut thair intentis till they knew that he was dead.

And in this meane tyme, the king past throw all Scotland at his pleasur, in peace and rest.

And in the meane tyme, thair was warres in Ingland, betwixt the duik of York, wha vsurped the croun and kingdome of Hendrie the

Sixt, the said Hendrie being in prisone for the tyme ; and the duik of Clarence, with certane other noblemen, past to Normandie at that tyme, to remaine thair with the duik his guid brother, quhill he saw fardder. We leive the affairs of Ingland, and returne yitt againe to our historie.

King James the Thrid being at guid peace and rest, as I have showin yow befoir, he went to Stirling, and remained thair the most pairt of the yeir, quhair he tuik sick pleasur to dwell thair, that he left all other castles and tounes in Scotland, and for that caus, he found it ane colledge within the said castle, callit the chappell royall, and also he buildit the great hall of Stirling. Also he maid in the said chappell royall, all kynd of office men, to wit, the bischope of Galloway, the deane, and the archdeane, thesaurer, subdeane, chaunter, and subchanter, with all kind of other officieris, perteaning ane colledge; and also doubled thaim for that effect, that the on half schould evir be readie to pas with him, to sing and play with him, and hold him mirrie : the other halfe to remaine at home, to sing and play for him and his successioun, and for this caus maid great fundatioun in the said chappell royall. And in the meane tyme the be-

nifice of Coldinghame waiked, and the king thought to have given it to the chappell royall, but the Homes was not content thairwith, and in speciall Hoomes of Falscastell, who had many steidings of the priorie of Coldinghame in his handis for the tyme, beleiving to gett the same in sett or feu afterwardis. He caused the Hoomes evir intend to gett ane pryour in that rowme of thair awin name, quhairthrow they thought the king thair enemy, becaus he intendit to mell with any thing they had, and speciallie the pryorie of Coldinghame. And for this caus the Hoomes and Hepburnes, with certane lordis and barones of the countrie, and speciallie the lordis that war put in the castle befor be the king, for the conspiracie of Lather bridge, assembled togidder to ane conventioun and counsell againes the king, and banded thamselffis togidder, that they thought they schould be pairtie to the king quhairevir he laid ony thing to their charge.

The king hearing of thir newis, sent ane herald to the forsaidis lordis and thair cautioneris, chairging them to vnderly the law within fourtie dayes, for sick thingis as he had to lay to thair charge. Bot the herald was evill intreated in the executioun of the sum-

mondís, for his lettres were revin. Att the quhilk the king took so great displeasure, for he knew thair was no remeid, bot rebellious. For the quhilk caus the king past to Stirling, and garnischid the same with men and victuallis, and maid ane . . . Schaw, laird of Fintree, captane of the same, and delyvered him James, his eldest sone in keeping, and commandit him straitlie, as he loved his honour and his lyffe, that he wold permitt no man to enter the said castle, nather great, nor small, till he returned; nor yitt latt his sone pas out of the said castle to no game, nor to meitt with no man, bot to keip him straitlie in the castle quhill his returning.

This being done, the king returned to the castle of Edinburgh, and furnished the same in lyk manner, and pat his haill pois of gold and silver in the said castle, and desired the captane thair of to keip and wach the same wyslie, and schew him that he was to ryd to the Northland among his lordis, and thair to seik counsall and support of thame, againest this new rebellious. Sua the morne efter he passed to Leith, and schiped in ane schip of captane Woodes, who was bound to Flanderis for the tyme. Sum of the conspiratouris, who hard tell of the kingis dyett, followed fast to

Leith efter him, and thought to have gottin him, bott they missed him. Yitt they gott pairt of his cofferis with money and cloathing: and they beleived suirly, becaus the king was embarked in ane schip of Captane Woodis, quhilk was bound to Flanderis, that he was passand thair himselfe, and that caused thair to tak the lese fear, and be the more hardie in spoylling of his servandis. Bot he caused the said captane land in Fyffe, and than rod through the same to his northland lordis, that favored him and wold tak his pairt. Bot yitt or he past, he left word behind him to the sche-riffe of Stratherne, Fyffe, and Angus, to mak proclamatiounes out through the said schyres, to all maner of men betuixt sixtie and sixteine, spirituall and temporall, as weill burgh as land, that they schould be in readines at ane certane day to pas with the king quhair he pleased, to dantoun his conspiratouris. Thir new rebellis kest all the meanis and craftie wayes they might, to mak thaimselfis als able against the king and all that wold tak his pairt, thinking weill, they schould aither fight with the king and give him battell, or els caus him to flie out of Scotland. And yitt becaus thair title was not guid, they durst not attempt the same, becaus they knew the king to be

weill loyed of the commones and borrowis, and specialle of the ancient and aiged worthie barrones of the cuntrie, who best knew quhat danger it was to rebell against ane crowned king. Thir newis was ane great hinder to thir conspiratouris, to put hand in thair king or prince. Bot yitt the eldest of thame, to witt, the earle of Angus, the lord Evandail, the earle Bothwall, the lord Home, with divers vtheris, concludit not to mell with the king without they had the prince his sone in thair hands and to this purpose they concludit, and fand ane craftie moyane, that is, they sent ane quyett messinger to the captane of Stirling, and desired him affectuousslie to cum and speak with thame, for his awin weill, who was verrie loath to cum, bot yitt at the last they maid him so fair promiseis, and gave him sick giftis of gold and silver, that he was finallie corrupted, and granted to all petitiones they wold desir of him, to witt, that he schould delyver the prince into their handis, and keip the castle still in the prince's name and thaires, and that he schould receave the king nor none of his within the castle in tymcuming. So immediatlle after they had given him great sowmes of money, he delyvered the prince vnto thame, who passed with him to Linlithgow;

and thair maid proclamatiounes to all manner of men, that wold cum and defend the prince : becaus, as thei alleadged, that the king had suspitioun of his sone, and at thame, lykas he had at his brother befoir, and was cuming with ane great armie to tak him and put him in prisone. Thairfoir they desired all men that favoured the commounweill, to cum and defend the prince, and also they fied waigeouris and men of warre with the kingis awin money, which they spoyllid, to pas with thame : and passed all fordward with the prince against the king incuming, quho knew nothing of the treason wrought be the captane of the castle of Stirling, nor yitt of the delyverance of his sone, bot peirtlie cam forward with the north of Scotland, that is to say, Ros, Sutherland, Caithnes, Buchan, Marre, Meirnes, Angus, Gowrie, Fyfe, Stratherne, Stirlingschyre, Atholl, and Argyle, with some of the lordis of the wastland that followed him. For thair was none in thir forsaide schyres, bot all tuik pairt with him, both gentlemen and commones, except the Lord Gray allanerlie in Angus, and the Lord Drummond in Stratherne, who was with the other pairtie againes the king. Notwithstanding the king cam to St Johnstoun, and thair warn-

ed all the commounes and gentlemen of Fyfe to meitt him, both on horse and fute, quho cam verrie obédientlie to the king, and with thame in companie lord David Lindsay of the Byres, as captane and liefetennent to thame at the kingis command; for he had beine long in France, and weill practised in warres, quhairfoir the king thought it meittest at that tyme to give him the chairge, becaus he knew him to be both hardie and trew to his grace, sundrie times befoir, when he had to doe; thairfoir lord David Lindsay mett him att Sanct Johnstoun, with ane thousand horsmen, and thrie thousand futmen, all readie to wair thair lyves with him in his defence. The same lord David Lindsay, being ryding vpoun ane great gray curseour, he lighted down and maid his obedience to the king, and thairefter presented the said curseour to his grace, assuring the king that if he had to doe in extremitie, either to flie or follow, that that hors wold ware all the hors in Scotland at his pleasour, if he wold sit weill; so the king accepted of the hors, and thanked him glaidlie. Alexander Lord Ruthven, schirreff of Stratherne, broucht to him ane brave companie, to witt, ane thousand gentlemen, weill horsed, ane thousand bowmen, and ane thousand with halflang swordis, and ha-

berschones, quhilkis all, with diverss vtheris highland men, passed all with the schirreff and mett the king att Stirling, to the number of thirtie thousand men. Thairefter incontinent the king passed to the castle, and desired to be in, bot the captane refused him entres, and then the king desired to speak with his sone, quhilk also the captane refuissed, and said he wold not speak with him at that tyme. Yitt the king inquyred of him gentlie quhair his son was; who answered, and said, that the lordis had takin him from him againies his will. Then the king said, "False tratour, thou hes deceaved me: I wow to God, and I leive, I sal be revengit vpoun the, and reward the as thou hes deserved." Thairefter the king passed to the toun, and watched all night, and caused ane strong wach of his armie stand about the toun all night, till on the morne that the day brak. Then the king rose with his counsall and lordis, that war with him, and passed forward in arrayed battle to the Torwood, and thair stayed, till moe cam to him. And siclyk the kingis enemies, on the other syd, cam peirtlie fordward to the water of Carroun, aboue the bridge thair of, to the number of twelff thousand men, all monted on horsback. And on the morne, thair cam wyse

men on everie syd to treat peace betuixt thame. Bot the king, sieing he was so great of power againes his enemies, he wold on no wayes bot fordward to be revengit on tham that had risen and rebelled againes him. Then he arrayed his battell, and maid forwardis to the feildis, and put his men in ordour, as efter followes: that is to say, ten thousand highland men in the vangaird, the earle of Huntlie and the earle of Atholl, leaderis of the said hoast; then in the reirgaird vther ten thousand wastland men, and Stirlingshire men, and thair leaderis war my lord Erskine, the lord Grahame and Monteith. The king himselff was in the great steall with all the borrowis and commones of Scotland, and on the on wing on his right hand, passed Daud earle of Crawford, and lord David Lindsay of the Byres, and with thame tuo thousand horsmen, and sax thousand futmen of Fyfe and Angus. And on his left hand passed Alexander Lord Ruthvene, with all Stratherne and Stormond, to the number of fyve thousand men.

Thus the king, being in ordour and passand fordward in arrayed batle, word cam to him that his enemies war in sicht. Then the king cryed for his hors, quhilk my lord Lindsay had givin him, and raid to ane hill head to sie the

manner of thair cuming. Then he sawe thame in thrie battellis, to the number of six thousand men in everie battell; the Hoomes and Hepburnes having the vangaird; and with thame in companie, Mers, Tividaill, and east Lothiane, and nixt tham Liddisdaill and Annerdaill, with manie of Galloway. And syne cam the wholl lordis that conspired against the king, and brought with tham the prince, to be thair buckler and saiftie, and haisted fordward with great courage, becaus they knew the kingis facilitie, that he was nather hardie nor constant in battell. So the king, sieing his awin enemies to cum with his awin banner displayed, and his sone against him, he remembrit the wordis which the wich had spokin to him manie dayes befor, that he should be suddenlie destroyed and put down be the nearest of his kine: quhilk he suspected than appearandlie to cum to pas, and be the wordis of the forsaid wich, illusioun, and intysinent of the devill, he tuik sick ane vaine suspitioun in his awin mynd, that he tuik haistilie purpose to flie. In the meane tyme, the lordis sieing the king to tyme courage, desired him to pas by the hoast till they had foughtin the battell. Be this the Homes and Hepburnes cam so fast vpoun the kingis van-

gaird, and on the other syd they schott so many and so thik flightis of arrowis at that tyme, that they hurt and slew manie of thair hors, and put thame back. Bot at the last the theives of Annerdail cam in, schouting and crying, and feared the king so, that he tuik purpose and raid his way, and thought to have win the toun of Stirling : bot he spurred his hors at the flight speid. Cuming throw the toun of Bannockburne, ane voman perceaved ane man cuming fast vpoun hors, shoe being carrieing in watter, cam fast away and left the pig behind her ; so the kingis hors lap the burne and slak of friewill, quhairfra the voman cam. The king being evill sittin, fell aff his hors befoir the mylne doore of Bannockburne, and so was bruised with the fall, being heavie in armour, that he fell in ane deadlie sowne : And the miller and his wayff harled him in to the mylne, and not knowing quhat he was, kest him vp in ane nuik, and covered him with ane cloath ; quhill at the last the kingis hoast, knawing that he was fled, debaitted thamselffis manfullie, and knawing that they war bordereris and theivis that delt with thame, thairfoir they had the moir courage to defend thamselffis. Nevirtheles they reteired and fled in guid ordour quhill they

came to the Torwood, and thair debaitted long tyme till the night came, and fled away als quyetlie as they might, and pairt past to Stirling. Bot thair enemies, on the other syd, followed thame verrie scharplie, so that thair was many takin, hurt, and slaine of thame. And be the kingis enemies war reteiring back, the king himselff overcame lying in the mylne, and cryed, if thair was ane preist to mak his confessioun. The myller and his wayff heir- ing thir wordis, inquiryed of him quhat man he was, and what was his name. He hap- pened to say, vnhappilie, "This day at morne I was your king." Than the milleris wayff clap- ped hir handis, and ran furth and cryed for ane preist. In this meane tyme ane preist was cuming by; sum says he was my lord Grayes servand; quho answeired and said, "heir am I ane preist, quhair is the king?" Then the milleris wayff tuik the preist by the hand, and led him in at the mylne doore, and how soone the said preist saw the king, he knew him incontinent, and kneilled down on his knies, and speired at the kingis grace if he might live if he had guid leichment: he an- sweired him he trowed he might, bot he wold have had a preist to tak his adwyce, and to give him his sacrament. The priest answeir-

ed, that sall I doe haistilie,—and pulled out ane whinger, and strak him four or fyve tymes evin to the heart, and syne gatt him on his back and had him away. Bot no man knew quhat he did with him, nor quhair he buried him. Nor no tryall of the king was gottin ane moneth thairefter. Notwithstanding, the battellis war dissevered, as I have schowin befor, the kingis battell fled to Stirling that night, and the other pairtie to thair tentis: and on the morne cam to Linlithgow. I cannot hear of any man of reputatioun that was slaine at this tyme, bot thair was many earles, lordis, and barrones, that war takin and ransomed. This battell was strickin in the moneth of Junij the aucht day, in the yeir of God 1488 yeires.

This may be ane example to all kingis that cumes heirefter, not to fall from God, and to grund thamselffis vpoun the vaine sayingis and illusiones of devillis and sorcereris, as this feible king did, quhilk pat him in suspitioun of his nobilitie, and to murther and exyll his awin native brother. For, if he had vsed the counsall of his wyse lordis and barrones, he had not cum to sick disparatioun, nor suspitione, quhilk he was moved to tak be vaine and vicked persones, quhilk brought him to

ane mischeivous end. Thairfoir we pray all godlie kingis to tak example by him, and to fear God, and to vse wyse and godlie counsall, having respect to thair high calling, and to doe justice to all men.

HEAR BEGINES THE CRONICLES OF KING JAMES
THE FEIRD, AND OF HIS ACTIS.

JAMES the Thrid, vnhappilie slaine in this maner, as is befor rehearsit, king James the Feird, and all the rest of the conspiratouris that came againes the king, passèd to Lithgow, and remained thair quhill they gott word whidder the king was slaine or not. In this meane tyme thair came ane man to thame to Linlithgow, schowing thame that thair was tuo schipes of Captane Woodes travisching vp and doun the Firth, of the quhilkis schipes thair was on of thame called the Flour, and the vther the Yellow Carvell. Thir schipes had sent thair cock boattis to land, and receaved in many hurt men within thame, of quhom they judged the king to be one. At thir tyd-ingis the wholl conspiratouris tuik conjectur

of the same thing, sieing that Captane Wood was principall servant to the king at that tyme, and having waiges of him, and he and his schipis had beine oftymes furnisched abefoir be the king to pas quhair he pleased: thairfoir they beleived that he schould have awaitted vpoun the king in the feild, and have broucht him to the schipis. They being certified of this matter, they raised thair armie and cam to Leith, and remained tuo dayes, and in the meane tyme send messingeris to Captane Wood, desiring to knaw if the king was in the schipes or noucht: who said he was not thair, and bad thame search and seik his schipes at thair pleasures, if they beleived not him. Upoun this answeir the messinger depairted back, schowing the captane's answeir; off the quhilk the prince and the lordis war not content, and send messingeris back againe to Captane Wood, desiring him to cum to the counsall, that they might inquire of him how the matter stood. Bot he, on the vther pairt, knawing that they had murthered his maister in maner fairsaid, tuik suspitione of thame, that without pledges he would not cum in thair handis, that he might returne without harme or skaith to his schipis. This also the messinger reported vnto the prince

and the lordis, quho incontinent caused tuo lordis pas in pledges for the said captane quhill he schould be delyvered againe to his schipes; to witt the lord Seatoun and the lord Fleming; sua the lordis war receaved into the schipes, and Captane Wood cam and presentit himselff befoir the lordis and prince, in the town of Leith. Bot als soone as the prince saw the captane himselfe befoir him beleived suirlie it had beine his father, and inquyred of him, "Sir, ar yea my father?" who answered, with teares falling from his eyes, "Sir, I am not your father, bot I was a servand to your father, and salbe to the auctoritie quhill I die, and ane enemie to thame that was the occasioun of his dounputting." The lordis inquyred of Captane Wood if he knew of the king, or quhair he was. He answered, he knew nothing of the king, nor quhair he was. Then they speired quhat they war that cam out of the feild and passed in his schipes: he answered, "It was I and my brother, quho war readie to have waired our lyves with the king in his defence." Then they said, "He is not in your schipes?" quho answered againe, "He is not in my schipes, bot would to God he war in my schipes saffie, I should defend him and keip him skaithles fra all the treasonable crea-

turis who hes murthered him, for I think to sie the day when they salbe hanged and draw-in for thair demeritis."

Then the lordis, sieing nothing in Captane Wood bot disphyghtfull answeiris and proud speakingis, they war not content thairwith; yitt they durst not put hand in him to doe him any skaith, becaus of the lordis that war pledges for him: ffor if the had done him any skaith, they wold incontinent have hanged the lordis that war pledges for him, quhilk, as it was, escaped narrowlie, becaus of the long stay of the said captane. The lordis haisted away the captane to his schipes, and inquiryed no moe tydingis of him. This being done, the lordis pledges war delyvered and tane on land againe, who war richt fled, and schew the prince and the lordis, if they had holdin Captane Wood any longer they had been both hanged. Att this tyme the prince and the lordis war verrie commoved, and desired certane skipperis in Leith to pas furth and tak the said captane and bring him in. To this effect they called all the skipperes and marineris in Leith befoir the counsall, to sie quhilk of thame wold tak in hand to pas vpoun the said captane, and they schould be furnished with men, artiliarie, and victuallis

vpoun the prince's expenssis, bot they all refused: and on Captane Bartone answered and said, that thair was not ten schipes in Scotland that would give Captane Woodes tua schipes combatt; for he was weill practiced in warre, and had sick artilyarie and men that it was hard dealling with him aither be sea or land.

This being spokin, the prince and the lordis consideredd the same, and continewed the same till afterwardis. So they past vp all to Edinburgh, and remained ane quhyll, and send out lettres into all pairtes, both into burgh and land, desiring the wholl lordis commissioneris to compeir at Edinburgh vpoun ane certane day, to sie the king corroned, and to give thair consent thairto. But, notwithstanding, few compeired except sum commissioneris of burrowes, and the lordis conspiratouris thamselffis. And thair they crowned the king, and thairefter they send ane herald to the captane of the Castle of Edinburgh, and desired the same to be rendrit to the king and his captanes, quhilk was obedientlie done at the kingis command. But the captane thairof maid sick moyane with the lordis of counsall and vtheris courteouris, that he continewed still in his office. Sum sayes he certified

sum of the lordis quhair the kingis poose was, and caused thame gett the samyne, quhilk was the caus his continewance in his office. This being done, the king past to Stirling, and requyrit the castle thair of to be rendrit in the samyne manner, quhilk was done incontinent, and the king and his captanes receaved thairin, and ane new captane maid, to witt, Sir John Lundie, knyght. The king remained a quhyll in Stirling, and passed daylie to the Chappell Royall to hear the mattines and evining song: and everie day the chaplandis prayed for the kingis grace, deplorand and lamentand for the death of his father, quhilk moved the king to repentance, that he happened to be counsalled to cum againes his father in battell, quhairsthrow he was murthured and slaine. To that effect he was moved to gange to the deane of the said Chappell Royall, and to have his counsall how he might be satisfied in his awin conscience, that he was airt and pairt of that conflict that was done to his father. This godlie man gave the king a guid counsall and comfort, sieing him so penitent. But yitt he durst not opin his mynd to the king so far as his conscience dytted him, becaus the king was young, and had no constancie to keip counsall or secreit thought, albeit

it was for his awin proffeitt; and also this godlie man dred the lordis and such as war conspiratouris of the kingis death, thinkand that they wold have beine allutterlie displeassed at him, if he had desired the king to doe that which became him: for the quhilk caus he comforted the king in the tyme of his repentance, and continewed his counsall till his grace was fardder strukin in aige. So the king remained in the castle a certane space, bot he was ever sad and dollorrous in his mynd for the death of his father, that he was constrained to mak ane signe of repentance; for the quhilk caus he gart mak ane yron belt, and wore it daylie about him, and eikit it everie yeir, certane vnces weight.

The lordis that war conspiratouris perceaved the king evir musing in his mynd, thinkand at sumtymes he would be displeassed with thair proceidingis; thairfoir they consulted amongest thamselffis that they would counsall the king to thair effect quhill he was young: and also they feired the lordis on the other pairt who war with his father, thinkand at sumtyme they would gett the king to thair opinione; and for this same caus, to awoyd all suspitioun quhairthrow they might be challengit, they caused the king incontinent

to sett ane parliament to be haldin at Edinburgh, within the space of ffourtie dayes: and wairned all the wholl lordis and great barrones of Scotland, and commissioneris of burrowes, to compeir the day and place forsaide, to hear and sie justice ministrat, lyk as it was in tymes past. Bot thair was ane speciall summondis directed to thame that war pertakeris with the kingis father againes himself, and also of the burrowes, etc. quhilkis hail number of the lordis war twentie aught, and aught scoir of great barrones. Thir number war summondit ilk ane particularlie be thame selfis, to compeir befor the king and counsell at Edinburgh within ffourtie dayes, to the treasonable and cruell cuming with the kingis father againes himself at Bannokburne: thinkand thair to caus the father devour the sone, with vther poyntis of dittay, quhilkis it is not neidfull to rehearse. And the first that was specified in the summondis was lord David Lindsay, becaus he was most familiar with the king at that tyme, and was starkest in his opinioun, and vsed himself most manfullie in his defence againes his enemies, thairfor the conspiratouris had most invy at him: And when the tyme cam all the lordis of Scotland compeired, both on the one syd and

on the vther, in presence of the king and counsall, in the tolbuith of Edinburgh, the king himselff sitting in judgment. The summondis was red, and the lord Dauid Lindsay first called, and his dittay red in this manner as followis. "That is to say: Lord Dauid Lindsay of the Byres compeir for the cruell cuming againes the king at Bannokburne with his father, and in giving him counsall to have devored his sone, the kingis grace, heir present: and to that effect gave him ane sword and ane hors to fortifie him againes his sone: quhat is your answeir heirvnto?"

This lord Dauid Lindsay being ane rasch man, and of rud language, albeit he was stout and hardie in the seildis, and was exercised in warre: yitt he had bot small prattick in the lawis, and could not answeir formallie to thair dittay, and could not gett ane man of law to speak for him, for fear of the king, becaus he satt in judgment himselff, and als the matter was treasone quhairof he was accused: Yitt the said lord Dauid Lindsay, hearing himselff so oft called, and his dittay red, answeired in this manner, "Yea ar all lurdones, my lordis, and fals tratouris to your prince, and that I dare prove with my handis vpoun any one of yow who holdis yow best, from the kingis

grace doun. For yea fals lurdones hes caused the king in plaine battell cum againes his father, quhair that noble prince was cruellie murthered among your handis be your adwyse, though yea broucht the prince in presence for your behove, to mak him the buckler of your wicked interpryse: thairfoir, fals lurdones, and the king punisch not yow hastily for that murther, yea will murther him when yea think tyme, as yea did his father. Sir, beware of thame, and give thame no credence, far they that war fals to your father can nevir be true to your selff. For, I assure your grace, had your father beine yitt alyve, I wold have tane his pairt and stand no aw of thir false lurdones. And lykwayes, if yea had a sone that wold be counsalled to cum in battell againes yow be the counsall of false traitoures lyk thir, I wold suirly tak your pairt, and fight in your quarrell againes thame, evin with thrie againes sax of thir false tratouris, who caussis your grace to beleive evill of me. Tyme sall try me at lenth to be trewer nor ony of thame."

The chancellour and the rest of the lordis that satt in judgment with the king for the tyme, hearing the grose and ruid speach, and scharp accusatioun of lord David Lindsay, in

presence of the king, and all the wholl nobilitie of Scotland: the chancellour thought he hat thame ovir near. Thairfor the chancellour, to excuse the matter, answeired and said to the king, in this manner, "Sir, lord David Lindsay is bot ane man of the old world, and cannot answeir formallie, nor yitt speak reverentlie in your grace' presence. Your grace most be guid to him, and I traist he will cum in your will." Then he spak to lord David Lindsay, saying to him, "It is guid for you to cum in the kingis will, and he will be guid to yow." Thir wordis war spokin purposlie, to caus lord David Lindsay cum in the kingis will, that it might be ane preparative to all the rest that war vnder the summondis of forfaltrie, to follow and cum in the kingis will, and thought to have cutted thame off be that way. Bot on, Mr Patrik Lindsay, brother-germane to the lord David Lindsay, heiring his brother desiret to cum in the kingis will, was not content thairwith. To that effect he stamped sadlie vpoun his brotheris foott, to latt him vnderstand that he was not content with the desir quhilk the chancellour proponed to him. But this stampe of Mr Patrikis was so heavie vpoun his brotheris fute, who had ane sair toe, quhilk was painfull to him, quhairfor,

he luiquit to him, and said, " Yea war over peirt to stampe vpoun my fute ; war yow out of the kingis presence, I wold overtak yow on the mouth." Mr Patrik, hearing the vaine wordis of his brother, plate on his knies befor the king and the Justice, and maid his petition to thame in this manner : " Sir, if it will pleas your grace, and your honorabill counsall, I desir of your grace, for his cans that is judge of all, that your grace will give me leive this day to speak for my brother : for I sie thair is no man of law that dare speak for him for feare of your grace : and although he and I hes not beine atane this monie yeires, yitt my heart may not suffer me to sie the native hous quhair of I am descendit, to perisch !" So the king and the Justice gave him leive to speak for his brother. Then the said Mr Patrik raise aff his knies, and was verrie blyth that he had obtained that licence with the kingis favour. So he began verrie reverantlie to speak in this manner, saying to the wholl lordis of Parliament, and to the rest of thame that war accuseris of his brother at that tyme, with the rest of the lordis that war in the summondis of forfaltrie, who war entred in the bos window and thair to thoall an assyze, according to thair dittay, saying, " I beseik you all, my lordis,

that be hear present, for his sak that will give sentence and judgment on vs all att the last day, that yea will remember, now instantlie is your tyme, and we have had the same in tymes bygane, as we may also have heirefter, desiring yow to know your awin estate, and that all thingis are changeable; bot Godis justice and judgment standis evir stable and firme; thairfoir doe all yea wold be done to in the administratioun of justice to your nighbouris and brethreine, who ar accused of thair lyves and heritages this day, whose judgment standis in your handis. Thairfoir beware in tyme, and opin not the doore that yow may not steik!" Be this Mr Patrik had endit his speaches, the chancellour bad him say sumthing for the defence of his brother, and to answeir to the poyntis of the summondis maid and raised vpoun his brother, and the rest of the lordis and barrones. Then Mr Patrik answeired againe, saying, "If it please the kingis grace, and your honoures that ar heir present, I say the king schould not sitt in judgment againes his lordis and barrones, becaus he has maid his oath of fidelitie, quhen he receaved the croun of Scotland, that he schould not in cum in judgment againes his lordis and barrones, in no actioun quhair he is pairtie himselff.

Bot hear his grace is both pairtie, and was at the committing of the cryme himself, thairfoir he ought not, nather be the law of God nor man, to sitt in judgment at this tyme; quhairfoir we desir him, in the name of God, to ryse and depairt out of judgment, quhill the matter be fardder discussed, conforme to justice."

Vpoun this the chancellour and lordis concludit that his petition was reasonable; thairfoir they desyred the king to rise vp, and pas to the inner tolbouth, quhilk was verrie vnpleasant to him for the tyme, being ane young prince sittand vpoun his royall seatt to be raised be his subjectis. Bot the lordis thinking schame to break justice, removed him on this manner, and than called vpoun lord Danid Lindsay, and his procuratour maister Patrik Lindsay, to answeir forward to the poyntis of the summondis, and dittay thairin conteint. Then Mr Patrik spak with humilitie, saying, " I beseik your Lordschipis, that ar judges, for his sak that judges vs all, to remember, that we have beine in the place quhairin yea ar now, and it may happin vs to have the king and court at our pleasour, as yea have now. Thairfoir sie that your proceedings be honest and godlie, in the leiding of your process."

The chancellour sayes, " Yea will have no caus to plaint; but we pray yow schortlie to answeir to your summondis, and mak ws no more hinder; and yea sall have justice." Mr Patrik answeired, " I trow the sumondes be desert and null in it selff, becaus he was summondit to compeir to this court and parliament vpoun the space of fourtie dayes without continewation of dayes, no mentioun is maid of quhair nor quhat place, bot generallie befor the king and counsall: and now my lordis, I believe it be ane and fourtie dayes, thairfoir the day is expyred of it selff; we ought not to answeir till we be new summondit, and lawfullie called thairto."

The lordis luikit the summondis and indorsatiounes thairvpoun, and fand it to be as Mr Patrik had said; and be the practick of Scotland, the summondis was castin, and the parliament dissolved. Yitt they caused the lordis that war vpoun the pannell, that schould have thoalled judgment, to find caution everie ane of thame, vnder the paine of certane soumes, to answeir at ane certane day appoynted to thame. Yitt all thir lordis war verrie blyth, thinking that all evill was guid of frist, and in speciall the lord David Lindsay was so blyth at his brothers sayingis, that he burst furth,

saying to him, "Verrilie brother, yea have fyne pyatt wordis. I wold not have trowed, be St Amarie, that yea had sick wordis," and said to him for that dayes labour he should have the Maynes of Kirkforther. ^

But when the king hard quhat Mr Patrick had said, he was displeased at him, and said to him, he schould sitt quhair he schould not sie his feitt for ane yeir, and imediatlie caused tak him to the Ross of Bute, and pat him in presone, quhair he remained the space of ane yeir. This parliament was holdin at Edinburgh, the tent day Januar, anno 1489 yeires.

This same yeir, certane Inglisch schipis cam in our Scottis firth, and spoyllid our merchandis with all vther passengeris that cam in their way. Off this the king and counsall thought great ill, and desired effectuouslie to be revengit thair of; bot they could gett no man, nather captanes, marrineris, nor skipperis, that would tak in hand to pas furth vpoun thame; quhyll at the last, they send for sir Andro Wood, knyght of Largo, and desired him to pas furth vpoun the said Inglishmen, and to that effect he sould be weill furnished with men, victuallis and artilarie, and he schould have the kingis favour thairfoir, and be rewardit richlie for his travell. Off this

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sir Andrew Wood was weill content, and past furth of the firth, with tua schipis weill maned and artyllid, to pas vpoun the said Inglismen. whom he forgathered with at the castle of Dunbar, quhair they fought verrie cruellie on either syd, with vncertane victorie ane lang space, notwithstanding the Inglismen war fyve, and he but tua, as said is, to witt, the Yellow Caruell and the Flour. Yitt the said sir Andrew Wood prevealed be his singular manhead and wisdom, and brought all his fyve schipis to Leith as prisoneris, and delyvered the captanes thair of to the kingis grace, for the quhilk notable act, the said captane Wood was weill rewairdit. This was he of quhom we spak befor; so he was holdin in great estimatioun with the king, and all the nobilitie thair efter. Bot incontinent, when the king of Ingland hard tell of thir newis, that his schipis war foughtin and takin be sir Andrew Wood, he was greatlie displeased thairwith, and maid proclamatiounes through all Ingland, that who-soever would pas to the sea, and fight with sir Andro Wood, and if he happened to tak him prisoner, and bring him to him, he should have for his revard, ane thousand pound sterling to spend be yeir. Thair was manie that refusied, because they knew sir Andro Wood

to be sick ane captane vpoun the sea, and verrie fortunat in battell, quhairfoir they had no will to assaillie him. Nevirtheles ane captane of warre, ane gentlman called Stephan Bull, took in hand to pas to the sea and fight with sir Andro Wood, and bring him prisoner to the king of Ingland, either quick or dead: quhairat the king of Ingland was greattumlie rejoyest, and caused provyd the said Captane thrie great schipis weill furnished with men and artillarie. Efter this the captane past to the sea, and sailled quhill he cam to the Scottis firth, that is to say, to the back of Inchmay, beyond the Bass, and tuik many of our boattis that war travelling for fisches, to win their living: and tuik manie of thame to give him knowledge quhair sir Andro Wood was, quhill at the last, a little before the day breaking, vpoun ane Sunday morning, ane of the Inglish schipes perceaved tua schipes cuming vnder sail by St Cöbes head: then the Inglish captane caused sum of the Scottis prisoners pas to the topis of the schipes, that they might see or spy if it was sir Andro Wood or nought: bot the Scottismen dissemblit, and said they knew not who it was, quhill at the last, the captane promised thair ransom frie to tell the veritie if it was captane Wood or not, quho

certified him that it was he indeed. Then the captane was verrie blyth, and gart fill the wyne, and drink about to all the skipperis and captanes that was vnder him, praying tham to tak guid courage, for thair enemies war at hand; for the quhilk caussis, he gart ordour his schipes in fear of warre, and sett the quarter maister and captanes, everie on in his awin rowme, and caused the gunneris to chairge and put all in ordour lyk ane guid and stout captane.

On the other syd, sir Andro Wood cam pertlie fordward, knowing no impediment of enemies to be in his gaitt, quhill at the last, he perceaved tua schipes cuming vnder sail, and making fast towardis thame in fear of warre. Than captane Wood sieing this, exhorted his men to battell, beseiking thame to be ferce against thair enemies, who had sworne and awowed to mak thame prisoneris to the king of England; "bot will God they sall fail of thair purpose. Thairfoir sett yourselffis in ordour, everie man to his awin rowme, and lat your gunes and crosbowis be readie. Bot aboue all, vse the fire ballis weill in the topis of the schipes, and let vs keip our overloftis with tua handit swordis, and everie guid fellow doe and remember on the weillfair of the

realme, and his awin honour, and weill God, for my awin pairt, I sall schow yow guid example." So he caused perce the wyne, and everie man drank to vther. Be this the sun begouth to ryse and schyne bright on the sailis, so the Inglisch schipes appeired verrie awfull in the sicht of the Scottis, be reasoun thair schipes war gritt and strong, and weill furnished with great artillerie. Yitt the Scottis effeired nothing, bot kest thame vnderward on the Inglismen, who sieing that, schott tua great cannonees at the Scottis, thinking that they should have strikin sail at thair boast. Bot the Scottismen, nothing effeired thairwith, cam stoutlie fordward vpoun the wind syd, vpoun captane Stevin Bull, and clipped fra hand, and faught thair fra the ryssing of the sune, till the goeing doun of the same, in the long sommeris day, quhill all the men and women that duelt neir the coast syd, stood and beheld the fighting, quhilk was terrible to sie. Yitt notwithstanding the night severed thame, that they war forced to depairt from otheris quhill the morne that the day began to break and thair trumpettis blew on aither syd, and maid thame againe to the battell, who clipped and fouglt so cruellie, that nather skipperis nor marrineris took head of thair schipes, but

fightand still till the ebb tyd. and south wind bure thame to Inchcap, fornent the mouth of Tay. The Scottismen sieand this, they tuik sick courage and hardiment, that they doubled on the strokis on the Inglismen, and thair tuik Stevin Bull and his thrie schipis, and had thame vp to the toun of Dundie, and thair remained till thair hurt men war cured, and the dead buried; and thairefter tuik Stevin Bull, and had him to the kingis grace as a prisoner. And the king reseaved him glaidlie, and thanked sir Andro Wood greatlie, and rewarded him richlie for his labours, and great prooff of his manhead, and thairefter propyned the Inglish captane richlie, and all his men, and send thame all saffie home, thair schipes and all thair furnishing, becaus they had schowin thamselffis so stout and hardie warrioures. So he send thame all back to the king of England: to lett him vnderstand that he had als manlie men in Scotland as he had in England; thairfoir desired him to send no moe of his captanes in tyme cuning. But the king of England hearing of thir newis, was discontented, quhan as his men said to him, that the king of Scotland said to thame, if they came againe in sick forme to perturb his coastis, that it might be they would not be so weill intertained, nor

loup home so dry schod. Alwayes the king of England accounted himselff obleist to the king of Scotland, for the safe delyverance of his men, and intertaining of thame.

In this meane tyme was guid peace and rest in Scotland, and great love betuixt the king and his subjectis, and was weill loved be thame all; for he was verrie noble, and though the vyce of covetousness range over meikle in his father, it rang not in himselfe; nor yitt pyk-thankis nor cowardis should be authorised in his companie, nor yitt advanced, neither vsed he the counsall bot of his lordis, quhairby he wan the heartis of the wholl nobilitie; so that he would ride out through any part of the realme him allone, vnknawin that he was king; and would ligge in pure menis houssis, as he had beine ane travellour through the countrie, and would requyre of thame quhair he ludged, quhair the king was, and quhat ane man he was, and how he vsed himselff towardis his subjectis, and quhat they spok of him throw the countrie. And they would answeir him as they thought guid, so be thir doeing the king hard the commoun brute of himselff. This prince was vondrous hardie, and diligent in executioun of justice, and loved nothing so weill as able men and horsis: thairfoir at

sundrie tymes he would caus mak proclamatiounes through the land, to all and sundrie his lordes and barrones, who war able for justing and turney, to cum to Edinburgh to him, and thair to exercise thaimselfis for his pleasour; sum to rune with the speare, sum to fight with the battle aix, sum with the tu handit sword, and sum with the hand bow and vther exercises, etc. Whosoevir fought best got his adversaries weapon delyvered to him be the king, and he who ran best with the speare, got ane speare headed with pur gold, delyvered to him, to keip in memorie of his prattick thairintill. By this meanes the king brought the realme to great manhead and honouris; that the fame of his justing and turney spread throw all Europe, quhilk caused many errand knyghtis cum out of vther pairtes to Scotland, to seik justing, becaus they hard of the kinglie fame of the prince of Scotland. Bot few or none of thame passed away vnmached, and oftymes overthrowne.

In this meane tyme was ane marvell seine in Scotland. Ane bairne was borne rekened to be ane man chyld, who from the waist vp was tuo fair personages, with all memberis and portratours perteaning to tuo bodies; and the back of one was fast to the other, but fra the

wast down they war bot on persone. The king caused tak great cair vpoun the vpbring- ing of thir bodies in on personage, and caused learne thame to sing and play vpoun instru- mentis, who within schort quhill became verie ingenious and cunning in the airt of musick, that they could play vpoun any instrument, the one the tenor, and the other the tryble, verie melodiouslie, quhilk moved the people to treat them verrie weill. Also they could speak sundrie leadis; that is to say, Latine, French, Italianes, Spanisch, Duch, Dence, English, and Irisch. Thir tuo bodies lived twentie aucht yeires, and than the one of thame depairted, quhilk was verrie dollorous to the vther, quhilk was the longest leiver; for the quhilk men bad him be merrie; he would an- sweir, "How can I be mirrie that has my brother as ane dead carcasse vpoun my back, who was vont to sing and play with me: when I was sad he would comfort me, and I richt so to him: bot now I have nothing but dollour in bearing so heavie a burtheine, dead cold, and dissolved on my back, thairfoir I pray the Almightye God to delyver me out of this lyffe, that [we may be laid in the earth togidder quhairfra we came"

Soone efter this, their cam ane Duch knyght in Scotland, called Sir Johne Cockbewis, and desired fighting and justing with the lordes and barrones thair of. Bot none was so apt and readie to fight with him as sir Patrick Hamiltoun, being then strong of bodie, and able to all thingis, and yitt for lak of exercisoun he was not so weill practised as mister had beine, though he laked no hardiment, strength nor courage. Bot when the Duchman and he was assembled togidder, on great horsis vnder the castle wall of Edinburgh, in the barrace; so efter the sound of trumpet, the rusched verrie rudlie togidder and break thair speares on vther, and immediatlie gatt new speares and encountered againe. Bot sir Patrick's hors vttered, and would in no wayes encounter his adversar againe, that it was force to sir Patrik to light on foot, and fight the Duchman, and bad the Duchman alight from his hors, and end out the matter, saying to him a hors was a weak weapon, when men had most adoe. Then both the knightis alighted on thair foott, and joyned pertlie togidder with right awfull countenance; each on strak at vther and fought the space of an hour, with vncertaine victorie, quhill at the last, the said sir Patrick rusched rudlie vpoun the Duchman, and strak

him on his knies, and the Duchman being on his knies, the king kest his hatt over the castle wall, and caused the judges to stay and red thame ; bot the heraldis and trumpetteris cryed and soundit, saying the victorie was sir Patrikis. This sir Patrik Hamiltoun was brother germane to the earle of Arrane, and sister bairnes with the kingis grace, and was ane wyse and valiant man all his dayes.

This king James the Feird was weill learned in the airt of medicine, and was ane singular guid chirurgiane ; and thair was none of that professioun if they had any dangerous cure in hand, bot would have craved his adwyse.

In this mean tyme the Drummondis brunt the kirk of Monivaird, quhairin was six score of Murrayes with thair wayffes and childraine, and few escaped thairfra, bot war all aither brunt or slaine, except on David Murray, quhilk fact the king punisched condignlie thairefter, for he headed monie of the principall actouris thair of at Stirling. The king also caused tak ane dumb voman, and pat her in Inchkeith, and gave hir tuo bairnes with hir, and gart furnisch hir in all necessaries thingis pertaining to thair nourischment, desiring heirby to know quhat languages they had when they cam to the aige of perfyte speach.

Some sayes they spak guid Hebrew, but I knaw not by authoris rehearse, etc.

In this meane tyme Bernard Stewart, brother to the earle of Lennox, and Monsieur Derbine, having the Scottis companie vnder thair dominion in France, vnder the king thair of, passed to Naples, and thair the said Bernard was maid regent and governour thair of: who rulled it also with great wisdome and gentlnes, that he wane all the heartis of the said realme, and loved and obeyed him so weill, that he was called be the French the Petteroy of Naples. Att this tyme the king and counsall of France was not content, thinking that he being ane Scottisman would vsurpe the croun of Naples to him selff: and for that caus devysed ane great lord of France to pas and be equall with the said Monsieur Derbine in all authoitie and power of governance of the said realme of Naples. But fra tyme the said Monsieur Derbine knew the king of France suspitioun in that matter, he was not myndit to stay longer in the realme, bot haistilie departed, and cam throw England into Scotland, quhair he was weill receaved be the king and counsall, and the kingis grace treatted him verrie gentlie, and sett him evir at his awin table with himselff, and maid him judge to all

justing and turney, and called him father of warres, becaus he was weill practicked in the same.

In the yeir of God 1504 yeires, in the moneth of August, king James the Feird tuik to wayff Margaret, the king of Inglandis sister, first borne dochter to Hendrie the Sewint, and was married with hir solemnedlie be the adwyce of the nobilitie of Scotland and Ingland, and gatt gritt sowmes of money with hir: and promise of peace and vnitie maid and ordained to stand betweine the tuo realmes, and thairto the said kingis gave both thair handis, and oathis of fidelitie, that they should observe and keip the samyne during the tyme of thair lyves, but fraud or guyle. Bot allace, this continuance was not long keipit, as efter yea sall hear. For the king of Ingland being alyed with the king of Scotland in this manner, thought he had his tyme convenient to pas to France to seik his pensioun. Thairfoir he assemblit his wholl lordis to ane counsall to sie quhat was thair myndis thairintill: quhilk manie of thame consented to, and gave him counsall to pursue his awin ryght, considering he was allayed with the king of Scotland, and so bandit with him, that he neid- it not to fear no backchailes of thame as he

had vont to do. Thairfoir they tuik the lese fear of France, thinking that the king should obtaine his pensioun bot ony trouble or impediment. Yitt the counsall of Ingland thought expedient to send ane ambassadour to the king of France to desir him to render the king of Inglandis pensioun frielie to him bot ony trouble; certifying him if he would not he would cum himself in propper persone for the same, quhilk would not be to his contentment. So the ambassadour past to France, and schew the king thair of his commissioun, quho was not content thairwith; beleiving weill that the king of Ingland durst not attempt to enter in warre against him. Yitt he was commoved at the message, and gave the ambassadouris deferring answeiris litle to effect.

In this meane tyme thair was ane bischope in Scotland called Andro Forman, bischope of Murray, who at that tyme was to pas to Rome, and rod his way through Ingland, quhair he was weill treated and receaved be king Hendrie the Aught, and that for the king of Scotlandis saik: syne past to Rome, quhair he was weill receaved be the Pope.

In this meane tyme, king Lues of France and Pope Julii, the Sewint of that name, fell in discord: and the said Pope raised ane armie

of ane hundreth thousand men, to cum againes the king of France, and give plaine battell, if he would not yeild to thair desires. The king of France sieing the Pope so rigourous againes him, cam manfullie to the fieldis againes him, with ane triumphant armie of the number of fourscore thousand men. Thir tuo armies marched togidder within the space of ane Scottis myll, readie to joyne at the sound of a trumpet. But this noble bischope Forman being in companie with the Pope for the tyme, desired at his holines that he might speak with the king of France, quhilk petition was granted to him be the Pope, who was verrie glaid of his desir. So this noble bischope past to the king of France quhair he was with his armie in propper persone, quho receaved the bischop werrie reverentlie, for the king of Scotlandis saik; who was also verrie blyth of his cuming, traisting that the bischop favoured him for the king of Scotlandis saik; that he would not lett the Pope give him battell if he might stop him, and to that effect he gave him fair wordis, and granted to manie of his desires. This bischope came haistilie againe to the Pope with guid narratioun of the king of France, saying to the Pope, that the king of France was readie to defend the libertie of the

kirk, and specialle to serve his holines, and pas with him quhair he pleased. Thir guid wordis, and vther siclyk, mitigatt the Pope soe, that he applyed to the bischopis counsall, and skailled his armie, and said he was content to cum and intercommoun freindlie and tenderlie with the king of France. So this bischope past haistilie to the king of France, who was weill content thair of, and promised to bischope Forman that he schould skail his armie in lyk manner as the Pope had done his, and that he would meitt and speak with the Pope in any place quhilk he would appoyntt. And on the morne both the armies skailled, and the Pope and the king of France mett and imbraced vther verrie tenderlie, and aggried vpoun all matteris debaittable betuixt thame, be the travellis and labouris of this bischope, who was richlie rewairdit thairfoir, and obtaint gritt favouris of noblemen on both sydes; for the Pope lighted doun aff his mule and gave him to bischop Forman, with great giftis of gold, and had him to Rome with him, and maid him legatt of Scotland. Then this bischope maid ane banquet to the Pope and all his cardinallis, in on of the Pope's awin palaces, and when they war all sett according to thair eustome, that he who oughit the hous for the

tyme should say the grace ; and he was not ane guid scholler, nor had not guid Latine, bot begane rudlie in the Scottise faschioun, saying Benedicite, beleivand that they schould have said Dominus, bot they answeired, Deus in the Italiane faschione, quhilk pat the bischope by his intendment, that he wist not weill how to proceid forward, bot happened, in guid Scottis in this manner, sayand quhilk they vnderstuid not, “ The divill I give yow all false cardinallis to, in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.” Then all the bischope’s men leugh, and all the cardinallis thamselffis ; and the Pope inquyred quhairat they leugh, and the bischop schew that he was not ane guid clark, and that his cardinallis had put him by his text and intendment, thairfoir he gave thame all to the devill in guid Scottis, quhairat the Pope himselff leugh verrie earnestlie. Thus when the bischope had endit his bussines, and was maid legatt of Scotland, he tuik his leive of the Pope and all his cardinales, he cam throw Italie and cam to France, quhair he was verrie welcome, both to the king, queine, and connsall thairof, and was richlie rew airdit for his peace making betuixt him and the Pope, and gave him thairfoir the bischopruck of Burges of Barrie, quhilk

was to him in proffeitt four hunder tun of wyne yeirlie, and ten thousand markis of gold, with vther small commodities. The king of France also schew this bischope how the king of Ingland had sent ambassadouris to him desiring his pensioun to be payed, or else he would cum and invaid his realme, quhairfor he desired the bischope verrie effectuouslie to speak the king of Scotland to support him, conforme to the tenor of his auld band, and also prayed the bischope to be his guid freind in counsalling the king: that is to say, when the king of Ingland came to France, that he should raise ane armie and pas in England, lykas his old band maid mentioun. To this effect the king of France sent ambassadouris in Scotland with the said bischope, to desir the same, as said is. Bot the king gave him deferring answeiris, becaus of the love and tendernes that was betuixt him and the king of Ingland, his brother in law. Thir ambassadouris past in France againe, nothing content with thair answeir.

This drew over for ane space, and in the meane tyme Margaret, our young queine, broucht home ane sone, in the moneth of Maij, in the yeir of God 1511 yeires. In the same yeir the king buildit a great schipe called the

Micheall, quhilk was ane verrie monstrous great schip ; for this schip tuik so meikle timber, that schoe wasted all the woodis in Fyfe except Falkland wood, by the timber that cam out of Norway. For many of the schipwrightis in Scotland wrought at hir, and wrichtis of vther countries had thair devyse at hir ; and all wrought bussilie the space of ane yeir at hir. This schip was twelff scoir footis lenth ; threttie sax foott within the wallis : schoe was ten foot thik within the wallis of cutted risles of oak, so that no cannon could doe at hir : shoe cumbred all Scotland to gett hir to the sea : and when shoe was committed to the sea, and vnder saill, shoe was counted to the king to fourtie thousand pund of expensis, by hir ordouris and cannones quhilkis shoe bair. • Shoe had thrie hunder marineris to governe hir ; sixscoir guneris to vse her artaillarie, and ane thousand men of warre, by captanes, skipperis, and quarter maisteris. Quhen this schip past to the sea, and was lying in the road, the king caused shott ane cannon at hir, to essay hir if shoe was wight, bot the cannon deired hir not. And if any man belevies that this schip was not as we have schowin, latt him pas to the place of Tullibardyne, quhair he will find the breadth and

lenth of hir sett with hawthorne: as for my author was Captane Andro Wood, principall captane of hir, and Robert Bartane, who was maister skipper. This schip lay still in the road, and the king tuik great pleasour everie day to cum down and sie hir, and would dyne and sup in hir sundrie tymes, and be showing his lordis hir ordour and munitioun. Quhill at the last the king of Scotland was suirlye advertaised that the king of Ingland was making readie with all haist possible could be, with ane great armie, and navie of schipes, to pas to France to seik his pensioun, quhair of the king of Scotland was not content; trusting weill if the king of Ingland invadit France that he would be chairgit be the king of France for support, according to his old band, quhilk he was loath to break, and, vpoun the vther pairt, was verrie loath to break his new allyance with the king of Ingland, quhilk greatlie commoved this guid king. Yitt, nevirtheles, be counsall of the bischopis, who evir favoured France better than Ingland, counsalled the king to pyk ane quarrell at Ingland, quhilk they believed should caus the king of Ingland to start, quhairby the king of Scotland might have occasioun to support France. And so they caused the king send

bischop Andro Forman to Ingland to the king, desiring of him certane silver wark and goldin peaces, with ringes, chaines, and pretious stones and vther abulzementis of gold perteaning to the prince, his eldest brother, quhilk was left to Margaret, queine of Scotland, be legacie of hir eldest brother. To thir petitiones the king of Ingland answered saying, " My lord ambassadour, desires the king of Scotland any thing quhilk was left in legacie be my eldest brother to Margaret, queine of Scotland, my eldest sister, shoe salbe weil satisfied and answered thairfoir, not onlie thairof, bot the double thairof of all thingis. Thairfoir mak your memoriall of all your desires, the number and the valour thairof, and yea sall not onlie have the single, bot the double thairof, as I am ane trew prince: on conditionn that the king of Scotland will keip his oath and band to me that he maid lailie with consent of his parliament; as lykwayes I, with consent of my lordis, hes maid the oath of fidelitie to him as he hes done to me, be the laying and touching with our handis the great evangell, and our superscriptiounes and great seallis interchanged thairvpoun, that nevir none of ws sall invaid ane vther for no manes pleasur, bot sall leive in pence and rest as

vther Christiane men and guid nighbouris should doe. Thairfoir I will desir the king of Scotland, for Almightye Godis sak, that he will sitt at home in his awin chyre, and latt me and the king of France pairt betuixt ws to seik the richt of my awin pensioun, quhilk is holdin from me vrongouslie be the pryd and avarice of France. Thairfoir I will desir him to sitt still and be judge to ws, and if he does me no guid that he does me no evill, and show to him that it sall nather be gold, silver, landis, riches, nor rent, that sall stand in difference betuixt me and him; and if he believes not this, send ane answeir haistilie againe ere I depairt out of Ingland to France, and I sall delyver his desires to thame, with any other thing that he will ask of me, etc.: And if he will faithfullie keip his promise to me, I sall incontinent, with consent of nobles, mak him duik of York and governour of Ingland to my homecuming, for the aires of Ingland must cum aither of him or of me: for I have non as yitt lawfull of my bodie; bot I hear say Margaret, my eldest sister, hes ane air maill of guid expectatioun. I pray God to blis him and keip him from his enemies, and that I may sie him in honour and estimatioun."

In this manner answeired the king of Ing-

land to the ambassadour, and rewairdit him richlie at his way cuming, and gave him the priorie of Candinbecke, quhilk was in rent be yeir four thousand angell nobles, by the convent thairof. So the ambassadour came home to Scotland haistilie, and schew the king of Inglandis answeir to the king of Scotland in manner forsaid. Off this answeir the king of Scotland was weill content, thinkand that he onawayes could refuse so fair offeris as his brother of law, the king of Ingland, had offerred to him : thairfoir consulted with himself, and concludit with his counsall that he would not invaid Ingland at that tyme for no favour that he had to France. Thairfoir the king sent away the bischop againe into France, that he would not, nor might not invaid Ingland, to cum in it with ane armie, be reasoun of his oathe and promise maid to the king of Ingland in the contrair thairof, bot he promised to send ane armie be sea to France to support thame ; and incontinent the king caused furnisch and victuall his great ship with all kynd of ordoures, and chused four weill practised and hardie men to be quarter maisteris of hir, and maid my lord Hamiltoun great captane of hir, and maid my lord Fleming vice admirall thairof, to sail in the Margaret ; the lord Ros in

the James, quhilk was also on of the kingis great shipes: quhilkis thrie schipes war weill furnisched, and manie lordis and barrones in thame, to the number of ten thousand men, who war weill arrayed for battell. And my lord Hamiltoun, earle of Arrane, having the chairge of thame to pas quhair he pleased, and speciallie to France, quhair the armie was lying for the tyme, debaitting againes the king of Ingland, thinking be thair support to caus the king of Ingland returne; bot all was in vaine: for my lord Hamiltoun, great admirall of the navie, keipit no direction of his maister, the king, bot past vpoun the wast seais on the coast of Irland, and thair landit and brunt Craigfergus, with all vther villages, and then cam fornent the toun of Air, and thair landit and played thaimselfis, and reposed be the space of fourtie dayes.

In this meane tyme bischop Forman being in France, who had promised support to the king be his maisteris direction, and luikit daylie for the cuming of the Scottismen; bot becaus he could not see this matteris tak effect, he writt home verrie scharplie to the king, making mentioun to him that his honouris was tint for evir, if he send not support to the king of France. The queine of France also

writt ane love lettre to the king of Scotland, nameing him hir love, shewing him that shoe had suffered meikle rebuik for his saik in France, for the defending of his honour, quhairfor shoe beleived that he wold recompence hir with sum of his kinglie support in sick ane necessitie, that is, that he wold raise ane armie and cum thrie fute on Inglis ground, for hir sak, and to that effect shoe sent him ane ring aff hir finger, worth fyfteine thousand French crounes. Quhen thes newis came to the king of Scotland, he would scarce lie beleive, for he knew weill that his navie had not past the richt way; and schortlie thairefter he gatt word that they war landit at the toun of Air, quhairat the king was greatlie displeased, for he beleived surlie that they had beine in France. Bot, becaus they keipit not his directioun, he sent Sir Andro Wood and certane heraldis, and dischairged my lord Hamiltoun to be admirall any longer, and awowed to God that he should nevir bruik heritage in Scotland efter that day. But this lord being young, notwithstanding he hard the terrible message of the king, yitt he would not give over his office at the kingis command, bot pulled vp saillis and past quhairvir he pleased, thinkand that he would cum to France in dew time.

The king hearing of this vnprosperous jorney, beleivand that France should gett no support of him for the tyme, caused mak proclamatiounes throw all Scotland, eist and west, south and north, alsweill in the Illes as in the inland, that they should be in readines within twentie dayes warneing, to pas with him quhair he pleased with fourtie dayes provisioun, and to meitt him at the Burrow mure of Edinburgh. This proclamatioun was haistilie obeyed contrair the counsall of Scotlandis will. Yitt nevertheless, they both loved and feared him so, that they would not refuse him. Bot everie man gart mak his provisioun according to the proclamatioun.

Att this tyme the king came to Lithgow, quhair he was at the counsall verrie sad and dollorous, makand his prayeris to God, to send him ane guid succees in his voyage. And thair cam ane man clad in ane blew gowne, belted about him with ane roll of lining, and ane pair of brottikines on his feitt, and all vther thingis conforme thairto. Bot he had nothing on his head, bot syd hair to his shoulderis and bald befoir. He seemed to be ane man of fiftie yeires, and cam fast forwardis, crying among the lordis, and speciallie for the king, saying, that he desired to speak with him,

quhill at the last he cam to the dask quhair the king was at his prayeris. Bot when he saw the king he gave him no due reverence nor salutatioun, but leined him doun gruf-lingis vpoun the dask, and said, " Sir king, my mother has send me to the, desiring the not to goe quhair thow art purposed, quhilk if thow doe, thow sall not fair weill in thy journey, nor non that is with the. Fardder, shoe forbad the, not to mell nor vse the counsell of vomen, quhilk if thow doe, thow wilbe confoundit and brought to shame." Be this man had spokin thir wordis to the king, the evin song was neir done, and the king paused on thir wordis ; studieing to give him ane answer. Bot in the meane tyme, befor the kingis eyis, and in presence of the wholl lordis that war about him for the tyme, this man evanished away, and could be no more seine. I heard Sir David Lindsay, lyon-herald, and Johne Inglis the marchell, who war at that tyme young men, and speciall servandis to the kingis grace, thought to have takin this man, bot they could not, that they might have speired farther tydingis at him, bot they could not touch him. Bot all thir vncouth novellis and counsall could not stay the king from his purpose, and vicked interpryse,

bot haisted him fast to Edinburgh to mak him readie, and to mak provisioun for himself and his armie againe the said day apoyntted. That is, he had sewin great cannonees out of the castle of Edinburgh, quhilkis was called the Sewin Sisteris, castin be Robert Borthik; and thrie maister gunneris, furnished with poulder and leid to thame at thair pleasure; and in the meane tyme they war taking out the artillarie, the king himselff being in the Abbey, thair was ane cry heard at the mercatt croce of Edinburgh, about midnight, proclame-and, as it had beine, ane summondis, quilkis was called be the proclamer thair of, the summondis of Platcok, desiring all earles, lordis, barrones, gentlmen, and sundrie burgess within the toun, to compeir befor his maister within fourtie dayes, quhair it sould happin him to be for the tyme, vnder the paine of disobedience; and so many as war called war designed be thair awin names. But whidder this summondis was proclaimed be vaine persones, night walkeris, for thair pastyme, or if it was ane spirit, I cannot tell. But on indweller in the toun, called Mr Richard Lawsoun, being evill disposed, ganging in his gallerie, start forment the croce, bearing this voyce, thought marvell quhat it should be :

so he cryed for his servand to bring him his purs, and tuik ane croun and kest it over the stair, saying, " I for my pairt appeallis from your summondis and judgment, and takis me to the mercie of God." Werrilie he quho caused me cronicle this was ane sufficient land-it gentlman, who was in the toun in the meane tyme, and was then twentie yeires of aige; and he swore efter the feild thair was not ane man that was called at that tyme, that escaped except that on man, that appailled from thair judgmentis. Thir newis spred through the toun on the morne, and came to the kingis eares, who gave thame but little credence: nor would he give no credance to no counsall, signe, nor tokin that maid againes his purpos, bot refused all godlie counsall, quhilk was for the weill of his croun and countrie; nather would he vse any counsall of his wyse and prudent wayff, Margaret queine of Scotland; for no prayer nor supplicatioun that shoe could mak him, showand that shoe had bot one sone to him, quhilk was over weak ane warrand to the realme of Scotland; and that it was over soone to him to pas to battell, leivand so few succession behind him. Thairfoir schoe desired him to stay quhill God should send thame more successioun of thair bodies; for shoe as-

sured him, if he past in Ingland at that tyme, that he would gett battell. Yitt this wyse and loving counsell could not be taine in guid pairt be him, becaus shoe was the king of Inglandis sister. Albeit this noble voman labour-ed als meikle as shoe could for the weill of hir husband, and als for the love shoe buir to hir brother the king of Ingland, shoe desired that no discord might be between the two realmes in hir tyme. Bot nothing could stay the king, bot fordwardis he went to the Borrow mure, quhair all his earles, lordes, barrones, and burgessis war assemblit, and all manner of man betuixt saxtie and saxteine, spirituall and temporall, burgh and land, illes men and vtheris; quhilkis amonted to the number of a hundreth thousand fighting men, by cariage men and artilliaris, who had the chairge of fyftie schott of cannonnes; and passed fordward to the East Toun, and camped thair all night; and on the morne went to Wark and Norhame, and kest thame doun, and thairefter went to Foord and kest it doun, quhilk did gritt skaith to the kingis men, in the falling with the timber thairof. Some sayes the ladie Foord, being ane bewtifull voman, the king melled with hir, and the bischope of St Androis with hir dochter, quhilk was againes the

ordour of all guid captanes of warre to begine at whordome and harlottrie, befoir ony guid succes of battell or victorie. Bot doubtles sick proceidingis is oftymes the occasioun of ane evill succes. Alwayes, the king remained thair the space of twentie dayes, without battell, or no appeirance of the same, quhill the most pairt of thair victuallis war spendit, and speciallie the farre northland menis, and the illes menis, that they war forced to goe home to furnisch the same: and everie lord and barone send home of his speciall servandis for new provisioun: so that thair abod not above ten thousand men with the king, by bordereris and countrie men. Yitt the king tuik no fear, for he beleived that the Inglischmen should not have given him battell at that tyme. Bot this vicked ladye Fuirde, sieing the kingis hoast so disperst, for laik of victuallis, and knew all the secreitis that war amongst the kingis men, and the intentioun of the king himselff, and secreit counsall, quhilk knowlege shoe had be hir frequent whordome with the king, quhilk moved hir to ask licence of the king to pas innerward in the countrie, to speak with certane of hir freindis, saying to the king that shoe should bring him all newis out of the south countrie, quhat they war doeing, or

quhat was thair purpose to doe, and thairfoir shoe desired the king to remane thair till hir return. And he againe, as an effeminat prince, subdewed and intysed be this vicked voman, gave hir haistilie credence in this matter, and beleived all that shoe had said to be trew. So he caused convoy her ane litle space from the hoast as shoe desired. But this ladie Fuirde being myndfull to keip no credit with the king, for the love shoe buire to hir native countrie, shoe past haistilie to the earle of Surrey, quhair he was lyand at York, at that tyme, and shew to him the haille secreittis of the king, and how many he was, and quhair his armie lay, and quhat poyntt they war att, and how his men war disperst, and past from him for laik of victuallis, and that thair was not abyding with him but ten thousand of all his great armie. Quhairfoir shoe counsalled the earle of Surrey to cum fordwardis vpoun him, assuring him of victorie, by hir ingyne, for shoe should deceave the king, also farre as shoe might, and put him in the Inglismenis handis. Thir novellis being showin to the earle of Surrey, be this vicked voman, he greatlie rejoyced thairat, and thanked hir greatumlie for hir laboures and paines, that shoe tuik for hir native countrie, promiseand

to hir, that within thrie dayes he should meitt the king of Scotland.

In the meane tyme lettres came to the earle of Surrey, that his sone the lord Howard was landit at Dover, and sex thousand men with him of the best warrioures of all king Harries armie, send to him be the king, who was lying in France, seiking his pensioun, and gott word that the king of Scotland was cum in Ingland, invading his realme, for love of France, and contrair the law of God, and both the realmes of Scotland and Ingland, considdering the promiseis, bandis, and allyances maid betuixt the tuo pairties and realmes, as we have showin befor. Notwithstanding the king of Ingland lamented heavilie the vnkyndnes of his guid brother; and thairfoir he writt his commissioun to the earle of Surrey, that he should be the leivtennent for the tyme, and to raise the hail bodie of the realme, and to caus thame pas forward vpoun the king of Scotland, to defend the realme, giveand him an expres command that he schould not pursue the king of Scotland be no manner of way, bot in his awin defence. The earle of Surrey hearing the letteris of commissioun presented be his sone, was verrie rejoyced, and tuik sick courage at the home cuming of his sone with

such an armie, that he assemblit all that he might be, and maid thair musteris incontinent, quhilk came to the number of fyftie thousand men. The captanes thairof was the earle of Surrey, and the lord Howard, principall governouris of the hoast; and the lord Dacres, merschall, and the lord Westmoreland, and the Pierces of Northumberland, war the chief-tanes of the vanguard; and so in all possible haist merched towardis the Scottis, quhair they lay for the time, to witt at Flowdoun hillis, tak- and no fear of enemies to invaid thame, and in speciall of the Inglismen, for the king nor none of his counsall knew of the earle of Surreyis cuming, nor beleived not to have gottin battell of him, nor of no other of Ingland at that time, considdering the king himselff was not present in the realme. So the king of Scotland being so insolent, and having no foresicht nor moyane in the countrie, lay still, taking no fear, as ane man incounsallable, who would doe nothing for his lordis and captanes, nor for the safegaird of his hoast, nor weill of his nobles, nor for obtaining of victorie, bot lying awaiting still, for the ladie Foordis in cuming; but in vaine, for shoe came not again, quhill the Inglisch armie cam with hir. So the king of Scotland nevir knew

the cuming of the Inglismen, quhill thair wholl armies war within the space of thrie Scottis mylles to him arrayed in sewin great battallis.

Quhen thir novellis war schowin to the king of Scotland, he would scarcilie beleive thame, but lap vpoun hors, and road to the head of ane hill to sie, which, when he saw thame cuming so fast forward he caused very courageously, and with ane manlie countenance, to sound his trumpettis and put his men in array, and ordained to chairge his artillarie, and mak all readie. In this mean tyme the lordis past all to ane counsall, thinkand that they would not suffer the king to give battell at that tyme to ane man of inferiour degrie.

Quhen the lordis went to the counsall the king disguysed himselff and cam privilie and hard everie lordis vot, and quhat was thair conclusion; to witt, the lordis chairged lord Patrik Lindsay to be chancellour, and first votter of the counsall, becaus he was of greatest aige, and had best experience amongst thame all of sick affaires. So they inquyr-ed of him, if the king sould give battell at that time to Ingland or not. The lord Lindsay being ryplie adwysed in this matter, sieing the proceeding and conversatioun of the king, an-

sweired, " My lordis, yea desir my opinion, if the king sall give battell to Ingland or not ? My lordis, I will give yow ane similitud, desiring yow to knaw my mynd be the same ; for I compare your Lordschipis to ane honest merchant, that wold in his voyage goe to dyce with ane common hazarter, and thair to jeopard in his playing ane rose noble, at ane cast, against ane glyed halfpennie, quhilk if this merchand wines, it wilbe accompted litle or small ; but if he tynes, he tynes his honour with that noble peace of gold, quhilk is of fare greater value. So my lordis, yea may vnderstand by this, that yea will be called the merchand, and your king the rose noble, and Ingland the common hazarter, who hes nothing to jeopard but ane halfpennie, in comparisone of our noble king, and ane old cruiked carle in ane chariott. Quhairfoir, I think my lordis, if Ingland respectis ane old cruiked carle in ane chariott, although they tyne him they tyne but litle, bot if we hazard our noble prince at this tyme, and happin to tyne him, we wilbe called evil merchandis, and far wors counsallares to his majestie ; for if we tyne him, we tyne the haill realme of Scotland, togidder with the nobilitie thair of, for none ar biddin with ws at this tyme bot nobles and

gentlemen : so I contend, it is not decent for ws to hazard our selffis with ane old croked carle and ane number of soutteris and tailyouris ; but better it war to caus the king to remove ane certane of his lordis with him, whom he thinkis most expedient to tak the matter in hand, and hazard themselffis for the kingis pleasour and their owin honour, and the commoun weill of the countrie at this tyme, and if your lordschipes will conclud in this maner, I hold it best in my opinion." Be the lord Lindsay had voted in this manner, the haill lordis consented to his conclusion, and thairto nominat certaine lordis to tak the battell in hand, that is to say, the earle of Huntlie in the north, the earle of Argyle, the earle of Crawford, and the earle of Marschell ; and in the west part of Scotland, the earle of Glencairne, the lord Grahame, the lord Maxwell ; and in the south the earle of Angus, the earle Bothwell, the lord Home : thir to be the rulleris of the kingis hoast, and to fight against Ingland, and the king to pass with certane of his nobilitie, ane litle from the armie, quhair he might sie the valiant actis on both sydis. This being concludit with the wholl lordis, the king being near hand by, as I have schawin yow befor, burst furth, vnhappilie, saying, " My lordis, I

sall fight this day with Ingland, and ye had all sworne the contrair, yea altho' ye wold leive me and flie, and shame your selffis, ye sall not shame me as ye devyse; and as to lord Patrik Lindsay, that hes given the first vott, I awow to God I sall nevir sie Scotland sooner, nor I sall caus hing him over his awin yett." Thus the lordis war astonisched at the kingis answeir, sieing him in ane furie, war faine to satisfie his pleasour, and serve his appettit in all things as he commandit.

Be this the watchmen schew the king that the Inglisch armie was cuming near vnto him, within the spaice of ane Scottis myll. Then the king commandit irfullie and furiously to sound his trumpettis, and put his men in ordour of battell: to witt, he gave the vangaird to my lord Huntlie, and to my lord Home, who war in number aucht thousand men, and took the great battell to himselff, with all the wholl nobilitie of Scotland, who exceeded not twentie thousand men; and merched fordward ane litle in the sicht of the Inglisch armie, who war then cuming over the bridge to thame. Then the maister gunner cam to the king on his knies, desiring licence to schott his ordnance at the Inglisch armie, quhill they war cuming over the bridge of Lyll, quhair he promised,

vnder the paine of deid, that he sould cutt the bridge, quhair the greattest prease of Inglis armie was; for he said he had stelled his canones for that effect, and thairby sould destroy and droun the most pairt of thame. The king answeired this gunner, Robert Borthwick, lyk to ane man bereft of all witt and judgment, saying, " I sall caus hang the and quarter the if thou schott a schott this day, for I will have thame all in plaine feildis befor me, and assay thame, quhat they can doe." Be this the Inglismen war all cum over the bridge, and the vangairdis war near marching togidder, and the trumpettis soundit, and the vangairdis joyned, to witt the earle of Huntlie, and the lord Home, with bordereris and countrie men to the number of aught thousand men, and on the other syd, the Inglis vangaird, quhairin was my lord Pearcie, and my lord Westmoreland, with all the haill bordereris and countrie men thair-of, in lyk manner. Quhilk pairties joyned with ane terrible and cruel reard, and great slauchter maid on both the sydis at the first assault. The bowmen, and they with tuo handit swordis, defendit thamselffis verrie manfullie, who war in the earle of Huntlie and the lord Hoomes companie. Yitt nevirtheles be sound of trumpett they retired verrie wari-

lie, with litle skaith, to thair standart againe. Be this the tua great battellis of England cam fordward vpoun the king and his battell, and joyned verrie awfullie, and fought verrie furiouslie, ane lang time, bot at the last the kingis host defenced the tuo armies, and pat thame back. Then the great battell of Ingland, led be the lord Howard, who was vnder his father the earle of Surrey, governour of that battell, who cam furiouslie vpoun the king againe, with tuentie thousand fresch fightand men, and the kingis battell met thame, and encountered them verrie hardlie, and fought verrie cruellie a long space, with vncertaine victorie, quhill the streames ran with blood quhair they war. The earle of Huntlie and the lord Home standing in arrayed battell, who had wone the vangaird befoir, and verrie few aither hurt or slaine of thame, the earle of Huntlie desired my lord Home, that he would reskue the king in his extremitie, sieing he was oversett with multitudes of men. Bot the lord Home answered, " He does weill that does for himselff, for we have foughten our vangaird and wone the same, and thairfoir latt the rest doe thair pairtis as weill as we have done." The earle of Huntlie said again, " he could not sie his native prince to be overcum with

his enemies befor his eyne ;" for his awin pairt, thairfoir, he called his men togidder by slug-horne, and sound of trumpet, to have passed to the king, bot or he cam all was defaitt, and verrie few alyve, aither of the kingis syd, or his enemies. Some sayes, thair cam four great men vpoun hors, and every ane of thame had ane wisp vpoun thair spear headis, quhairby they might knaw otheris the sooner, if they happened to be separat, and brought the king furth of the feild, vpovn ane dun hakney ; and sum sayes, they had him in the Mers betuixt Dunse and Kelso. Quhat they did with him I cannot tell. But ten yeires thairefter ane certane man being convict of his lyff for slauchter, offerred to the duik of Albanie to latt him sie the place quhair the king was buried, and for the greater evidence, his yron belt besyd him in the grave. Bot this man gott no audience be thame that was about him, and the duik of Albanie desired not that sick things should be knawin. Bot we will retorne to our purpose.

The feildis being discomfited in this maner on both the sydes ; for nather England nor Scotland knew who had the victorie at that tyme, except the Scottismen tint thair king, who may be justlie said to have tint himself, throw his awin raschnes and greater foolhardy.

nes, nor was requisit in a king: for the Inglis-men war rekoned to be thryse als manie in number as the Scottismen, and so manie of thame as war left alyve, retired thaimselfis to the earle of Surrey, and the lord Howard his sone: and retired that night ane little from the feild, and fled that night on their foottes, quhill on the morne at nyne houris, not knowing who had wone or tint the feild. And in lyk maner, the lord Home stood all that night on his foott, quhill on the morne, with aught thousand men with him; and on the morne he hearing no din nather of Scottismen nor Inglismen, he depairted and left the kingis artillarie in the feildis behind him, quhilk he might have reskued and brought with him if he pleased.

The Inglismen hearing that the lord Home was retired, they conveined the number that they might be, and had away the kingis artillarie with thame to Barvick, quhair meikle of it remaines to this day; and syne they cam throw the feild seiking thair noble and principall men that war slaine, and to have spied if they could have seine the king of Scotland. Bot they could not find him, albeit they fand sundry in his luferay; for the same day of the feild he caused ten to be in his awin luferay,

lyk vnto his awin present apperrell, amonges quhom was tuo of his awin guard: the on called Alexander M'Cullo, and the vther the squyer of Cleisch, who war both verrie lyk in makdome to the king; and so they tuik on of thame, whom they thought lykest to the king, and kest him in ane chariott, and had him with thame into England; bot trew it is they gott not the king, becaus they had nevir the token of his yron belt to schow to no Scottisman.

This sorrowful battell was striken and endit at Flowdone hill the nynth day of September the yeir of God 1513 yeires, and of his rigne the twentie fyve yeir.

James the Feird unhappilie slaine in this manner, with manie of his nobles, not by the wisdom or manhood of Inglismen, bot by the kingis awin wilful misgovernance, who wold vse no counsall of his nobles in defence of his honour, and preserving of his armie: bot vsed his awin sensuall pleasoures, quhilk is war the cause of his vtter ruine. Thairfor all other princes sould tak example be this wilfull and incounsallable prince; for although he was the head, they war the bodie, without the quhilk he could not stand, quhilk was also a pairt of the occasioun of the death of this

stout and manlie prince, who not onlie was the caus of his awin death, but of all his nobilitie and barrones, etc. for this was als cruell ane feild for on as evir was stricken betuixt Scotland and England. Bot we will latt him rest with God, and speak of his sone king James the Fyft, etc.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

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